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and leapt away apparently uninjured. The Bella Coola say that yearling goats have very strong spirits (I, p. 94) which make possible such actions.

Though generally callous with regard to the sufferings of animals, the Bella Coola are usually careful not to kill more than they need; and knowledge of the supernatural power possessed by animals sometimes leads men to treat them with great consideration. For example, if a bull-head is caught in an olachen net in the river, the fisherman throws it back into the water, saying:

"I have saved you; please do the same for me."

The following incident, believed without question by the Bella Coola, shows the manner in which bull-heads help those who have often befriended them. About 1880 a Kimsquit fisherman, *Ălłakān·i*, fell into a rapids where he was in great danger of drowning. A bull-head, seeing his plight and mindful of former help, increased his size and shoved *Ălłakān·i* ashore with its nose.

"I have saved you, mortal," said the bull-head, as he did so.

The ability to increase in size is not restricted to fish, but is shared by small mammals and reptiles. Lizards, for instance, four feet in length, are said to live permanently in a pond about seven miles below Kimsquit; they are termed *qwalās*.

Toads, too, can aid mortals. If a man see a snake devouring one of them he will, if he is wise, kill the snake and say to the toad:

"Please help me when I am in difficulties."

A toad never forgets its obligations and if that man should fall into a river when the toad is near, the latter will grow large enough to drag him forth.

Snakes are regarded with aversion and disgust. This may be in part due to the belief that they cook for *Ălłăt·ĭaĭtł* (I, p. 49), but more because these reptiles enter the stomachs of human beings. The Bella Coola believe that snakes are the offspring of a supernatural Mother of Snakes, a mythical being of dread powers. The following story illustrates their beliefs

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concerning the danger of near approach to this creature:

K̓wilais was a man of mixed lineage, Kimsquit and *P̓a·s*, near Newitte. With several companions he was gathering berries when he stepped into a hole and felt numerous tiny creatures crawling over his legs. Looking down, he saw that they were small snakes, that had just been hatched from a Mother of Snakes. He fled, terrified, pursued by the reptiles, which he managed to keep off to some extent by brushing behind him a branch of spiny swamp gooseberry, a known deterrent. When he had out-distanced the snakes he called his companions, told them of his adventure, and returned home. There he repeated the tale. Though *K̓wilais* did not know it, many of the snakes had succeeded in entering his stomach. Presently he began to swell; his body became larger and larger until he was in danger of bursting. The reptiles within were breeding rapidly. Luckily, one of his fellow villagers knew the proper remedy. A raised bed was made for the sufferer about five feet from the ground where *K̓wilais* stretched himself on a number of thorny branches, while his friends built a fire of devil's club and swamp gooseberry twigs so that he was fumigated in the smoke. Then, to give greater potency, they cast on the flames soiled clothing and pounded cedar-bark pads stained with menstrual blood; even this was of no avail, so finally a woman squeezed out into a vessel some of her menstrual blood which *K̓wilais* drank. This killed the snakes. The patient began to vomit, emitting a mass of wriggling serpents, and at once began to grow thinner, soon regaining his normal condition. Had he not been able to eject the reptiles, he would have died.

K̓wilais was not the only one to have this unpleasant experience. Many others have suffered in the same way, but in no case has anyone been able to feel the snakes at the actual place or time of entry.

The beliefs of the Bella Coola concerning the power possessed by animals are clearly shown by their attitude with regard to killing them. Man is immortal, so are animals. *Alq̓umtăm* decreed that beasts and birds should serve as food for mankind, but it is only their clothing, their worthless "blanket of flesh," as the Bella Coola express it, which they give to hunters. In the autumn leaves appear to die, but every spring they are reborn. Similarly, when an animal is slain, it merely discards its visible self while its spirit[m] ascends

[m] *Xumtsods*; see vol. I, p. 94.

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years ago a chief, when hunting, sat down to rest. While he sat a slide plunged down the mountain-side and swept away the ground where he would have been if he had not stopped. The Bella Coola know that such a fortunate escape is no accident, as foolish white men believe, but is the result of an active spirit. Sometimes it can convey only symbolic hints of what is to happen. An old Kimsquit man told how his lower eyelids once became sore and his stomach began to heave. This occurs with sobbing, so he knew that ill-fortune was before him and was not surprised at the death of his son. A thoughtful person pays great attention to indications such as these, knowing that his spirit is always striving to pierce the future and obtain information for him, however indefinite. The importance of the supernatural to the Bella Coola can be judged from the fact that they attribute every action and thought to an element of this nature.

Mentality, *silk*, though caused by the spirit, is somewhat vaguely regarded as a separate entity. It comprises two parts, one constantly urging to good deeds, particularly to activity in ritual matters, the other to evil. No one knows the appearance, if any, of human mentality. Some of the thoughtful older men hazard the opinion that every tree has mentality, whereas others say that it has a spirit. In former times especially, as one was falling, the cutters could occasionally see a dark object somewhat resembling an otter flash away and disappear. Not until then was the tree actually dead. Even the old people do not profess to know anything definite about mentality, which is important only as an attribute of the spirit. In indefinite association with it, too, is breath, *sininits*, provided by *Alquntăm* for everyone at birth. The word signifies more than the material act of breathing, it denotes the actual physical state of being alive, a condition "lent" by *Ălquntăm* to mortals. The connection of these two elements with the spirit is unequivocal, though their exact relationship is indefinite.

If the spirit moves far from its proper position at the back of the neck, the owner falls ill; if it leaves him, his condition

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774 becomes critical. Only a shaman (I, p. 539) can return one, and
755 if he fails death always results. In some cases a spirit leaves
[753] its owner without apparent reason; he becomes insane, tries
[756] to eat dirt, and his relatives realize at once what is the matter. They summon a shaman who takes off his cape, hangs it like a pouch on his stick, and points it in all directions as he sings his shaman's song. Finally he locates what is missing, and traps it in his cloak, which he places around the sick man. This restores the element and the sufferer recovers immediately. Another method is for the shaman to press the back of the patient's neck, and by blowing and spitting cause the wandering spirit to return. Either cure must be performed by a shaman because of the supernatural power required.

774 Spirits can be extracted in various ways. Shamans can draw one forth by sucking at the back of the neck between their cupped hands; in former times, some were so powerful that they could extract them by their mere presence. During
774 *kusiut* dances (II, chap. 1), the uninitiated are told that if they
575 enter the house where a ceremony is taking place, or even pass
[535] on the sidewalk outside the door, their spirits will be drawn from them by the power within and attracted to the dancer or to the sacred platform on which he is concealed. Many
[178] stories are told of this, which were firmly believed by the uninitiated until the last few years. Members of the society claim that their great power acts as a magnet to the spirits of all but their associates, except children in arms; the latter can be taken by their mothers into the house, because their supernatural elements have not developed sufficient strength to
774 leave their bodies. A person may also lose his spirit through a sudden shock. If two people meet unexpectedly in the forest and one of them shouts loudly at the other, even if only in fun, the spasmodic contraction of the muscles is enough to expel it.
[761] The person to whom this happens falls down as if dead, and
[756] though he soon recovers, his spirit has left him, and if it is not brought back by a shaman he dies a lingering death.

775 At death, the spirit permanently leaves the body. In some

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below. These are termed tally posts." Each remained upright as long as the individual to whom it referred was alive, but fell at his death. Since that time, whenever *Ălquntăm* lends to a mortal *sininits*, the undefined power that causes life, his supernatural artisans erect in the land above a tally post for the new-born infant, marked with the bird or animal used by an ancestor. As long as this remains upright and straight, firmly fixed to the ground, its owner continues to be strong and prosperous, and has success in all his undertakings; if it becomes loose, or is crooked, he ceases to succeed. Prosperity does not depend upon the activities of an individual, but upon his supernatural possessions, spirit, tally post, and a third to be described later. If the tally post tilts far from the perpendicular, its owner becomes ill, and can be cured only by straightening it. In some cases *Ălquntăm* is kind enough to do this if placated by prayer and ceremonial chastity (I, p. 110), and in olden days, shamans were occasionally able to penetrate to the land above for this purpose. Even when a post was reached, they were sometimes unable to set it upright, though they could always estimate the length of a man's life from its angle of inclination. In one of the *kusiut* dances, the performer pretends to have the ability to go aloft and the uninitiated are deceived by the erection of a tall ladder up which he climbs and disappears (II, p. 202). On his return, he reports the condition of the tally posts of various people. This performance serves to remind both members of the society and uninitiated of the existence of these supernatural elements, and of the dependence of individuals on them for success in life. In spite of this ritual, actual knowledge of the powers and functions of tally posts has been derived only from the first Bella Coola who, created in the land above, were acquainted with the mysteries of life and transmitted such lore to their descendants. One old man expressed the opinion

[773] [777] [753] [782] [755] [575]

"*Qmaimaxsta*. One of the names of *Nusmŭ'a*, *Nusqmaimaxsta*, refers to these, meaning, "The Place of the Tally Posts." *Qmaimaxsta* and *qmaihsta* are closely associated; sometimes the latter is pronounced *kmaihsta*, although this may be an error in recording.

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773 777 823 756 [755] Shamans achieve much of their success through their ability to put their wash-basins, both tangible (I, p. 560) and immaterial, in tune with *Ălquntăm*'s in the land above. One method of treating a patient is by washing, with the idea that the water and vessel used have potency through association with those in the upper world. It is believed that in the distant past, shamans were even able to carry their patients to the land above and wash them in *Ălquntăm*'s own basin. Such feats [551] are perpetuated in certain shamans' names, such as *Ălpălxeloslaix*.

773 777 It may be said in conclusion that although the Bella Coola have indefinite ideas concerning the exact form and functions of this last element, there is a firm belief that an individual's fortune in life depends upon the activity of spirit, tally post, and wash-basin. With regard to supernatural elements as a whole, it is clear that in spite of somewhat conflicting beliefs concerning the precise functions of each, they play an important part in the life of every Bella Coola.

Means of Propitiation

782 Some of the methods employed by the Bella Coola to gain the favour of the supernatural have already been mentioned, but the subject is sufficiently important to warrant a separate section. In view of the omnipresence of supernatural beings and powers, and their influence on the lives of mortals, it is not surprising that the propitiation of them is a vital factor in human life. The chief means are prayer, sacrifice, and the observance of ceremonial chastity.

Prayer

[776] Prayers are regularly addressed to *Ălquntăm* who, in this connection, is known as *Mnakais* or *Tătă*, both meaning, "Father." A wise man or woman desiring success in hunting, in love affairs, in the acquisition of wealth, or in any activity whatsoever, is accustomed to ask *Mnakais* to grant his desire. No ritual is required. The petitioner merely seeks a lonely

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Ceremonial chastity is considered almost a necessity to hunters, and in former years a man would rarely, if ever, set out to seek game without fortifying himself by at least several days of continence followed by washing. In the few cases known of a female assuming the clothing and activities of a male, she has been forced to hire a man to sleep with her on the proper nights before starting to hunt. But hunters are by no means the only ones to observe ceremonial chastity. If a man wants to build a salmon-weir, it is by this means that he makes himself strong enough to succeed; if he plays cards, good fortune is sought in the same fashion. The guests at a potlatch observe ceremonial chastity so that their host may not forget them in his distribution of presents, the host, that his guests may arrive on time. The *kusiut* dancer thus fortifies himself for the performance of a dangerous ritual. In this way a man experiences dreams foretelling the future. In every desire or activity of life, ceremonial chastity is a potent means of success, not infallible, usually combined with prayer and in many cases with sacrifice, but a background and accompaniment to every means of propitiation. If a man has conspicuous ill-luck, it is because he has failed to observe ceremonial chastity; if he succeeds, it is because he has done so. At the present time there is living in the Bella Coola valley an old white man who for years has ranged the mountains in search of gold; he has been unsuccessful, and the Bella Coola believe that he will never succeed until he observes ceremonial chastity.

The strength which a man may acquire through the practice of this rite is almost limitless. A man may be ailing on account of the leaning of his tally post, but, if he energetically and faithfully observes chastity, it will become straightened, whether automatically or through the agency of *Alquntäm* is uncertain. After the termination of a long period of continence, a man's spirit is so strong that his friends place their hands on the back of his neck in order to absorb some of the power radiating from his spirit. Ancient myths record how the mere force engendered in a man's body by lengthy abstin-

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*556 773 flesh cut from the body is fastened to the point of the spear, making it so potent that when next the chief lunges at a salmon he transfixes it and brings it ashore. He warms the fish at a fire and then pounds it on a stone until it becomes a copper.

No Bella Coola has visited this distant river for many generations and the belief concerning the manufacture of *taitaimɣ* appears to have been handed down from dim antiquity. Coppers of this kind are said to have been considered much more valuable than the usual *ɬälia*, but were always uncommon. In addition to their ordinary uses, they had a certain curative value. If the owner of one was ill, he used to clean it [755] with a rough stone and water; then he would drink four cupfuls of the liquid which contained minute fragments of metal. In almost every case a speedy recovery followed. In all other respects *ɬälia* or *taitaimɣ* could be used indiscriminately.

Ɬälia are likewise said to have a supernatural origin. When found in the forest, they are due to the supernatural salmon- [776] like being, *sɔsiutl*, having changed itself into one. None has been found in recent years because the *sɔsiutl* have moved away owing to their dislike of the smell of human footsteps and the taint of smoke.

[325] These stories serve to emphasize the complete ignorance of the Bella Coola concerning the methods of manufacturing coppers. It is possible that long ago they were able to make their own by pounding the native metal, but if so it is surprising that some traditions to this effect were not preserved. [177] On the other hand, there is little reason to doubt their use of coppers, obtained from the northern tribes, antedating the coming of the whites. All informants agreed on this point, and the frequent references to coppers in mythology likewise point to considerable age. In many of the ancestral myths there are accounts of the obtaining of coppers by some of the [551] first people, and many ancestral names, both of men and women, are derived from them.

[237] The Bella Coola attribute the value of coppers to the fact

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CAUSES OF DEATH

761 The Bella Coola know that sickness, accident, wilful murder, old age and a host of other factors may at any time terminate a man's life, but they consider that any one of these direct causes is possible only in conjunction with an indirect reason of a religious or supernatural nature; in the last analysis they attribute death to supernatural, not to natural causes. [773] As described in a previous chapter, an ancient myth attributes the origin of death to the stupidity of Raven, but this belief, even if its historical accuracy is accepted, belongs to the realm of philosophy and ancient history rather than to everyday life. 761 When a canoe is capsized on the ocean and its occupants are drowned, —the Bella Coola do not consider a drowning a mere 776 accident—it is because *Q̣omoqwa* was hungry and desired human flesh. This indirect reason is quite as important as the direct one. So, too, the death of a man beneath a falling tree or a land-side is no accident; *Sā·lma* caused the tree to crash to earth or the slide to roll downwards. Most individuals believe that this supernatural being is responsible when an animal kills a hunter. He delights in death and always sits on [756] a coffin before it is taken to the grave, although none but shamans can see him. Any supernatural being can cause death, but it must not be imagined that the Bella Coola go through life in a state of constant fear; death may vanquish them in the forests, but the probabilities are against it. Nor does 753 sickness appear to them as a natural phenomenon. Its cause is either the intrusion of some foreign object into the body, or the weakness of one of the patient's supernatural elements. The only remedy in the latter case is an appeal to the super- [755] natural, sometimes through the medium of a shaman, whereas a foreign object in the body can often be extracted by a skilled [754] practitioner. A disease of this type is often brought on by the machinations of a sorcerer, and if death results it is attributed 761 to the potency of his charms, not to a natural ailment. Even [775] ghosts are able to cause death. In war, one man may be able [726]

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tries to speak to living relatives, but his whistling language is unintelligible and frightens the hearer. Ghosts dislike urine, and the only means known to keep them away from a house is to sprinkle this liquid outside the door, a common Bella Coola custom. There is no actual danger in hearing a ghost, and little even in seeing one, provided the observer does not relate his experience, but should he try to do so, something happens to his mouth as if an invisible hand had been clamped over it to prevent his words issuing forth. He can neither eat nor drink and soon dies.[46] It is possible that other beings are responsible for this same affliction, but as no sufferer has ever been able to explain the cause of his ailment, no one knows. The most dangerous ghost is that of a person who, buried without a nose-ring, is unable to disintegrate into his elements. The sight of such an apparition causes almost immediate death through contraction and closing of the mouth.

An unpleasant habit of ghosts is the throwing of stones at the living. This is done partly from a love of mischief, and partly to remind their relatives of their needs. An old Kimsquit man described how, when encamped on King Island, he had almost been struck by a stone which seemed to fall from a tree. He realized that it must have been thrown by a ghost, and his opinion was confirmed when he found he could not speak. He instantly built a fire and cast on it both food and clothing as offerings to the dead, which had the effect of loosening his mouth. Pondering on the reason, he remembered that one of his relatives had died not far away, and that he had failed to give him any crumbs for a long time. In this case, as in many others, the stone was visible, though the thrower remained invisible.

Even near approach to ghosts is sometimes dangerous. The same man related how, when hunting, he heard what he thought was the note of a water ouzel, and passed by heedlessly. In a few minutes he thought he heard the cackling of geese, but the sound, instead of continuing to come from a pond a few hun-

[46] The disease attributed to the actions of ghosts may be lock-jaw.

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dred yards away, rapidly drew near the hunter along the trail. He raised his musket and stepped aside, but though the sound went past him down the path, he could see nothing. Terrified, he realized that he had been near two ghosts, and rushed back to the village. A shaman was called who informed him that he had met his dead father's sister and another relative, both of whom were hungry. The hunter, too weak from fright to help himself, watched the shaman light a fire and throw on it a considerable amount of food and goods. Finally, he ripped the hunter's shirt from his back and threw it into the flames. Consequently, no harm resulted from this experience.

Ghosts, like all other supernatural beings, can, of course, control their powers so that their appearance does not injure a beholder. A few years before 1922 a certain *Qoxolän·i*, whose ancestral name was *Lo·qwa·t*, was encamped at *Saskwanuts* on the Labouchere Channel side of King Island. At dusk a woman came to his fire and proceeded to warm her cape. He recognized from her green face that she must be a ghost and boldly asked her what she wanted.

"I have been searching for mussels," she replied, "but without success."

In an instant she vanished and *Qoxolän·i* experienced neither good nor evil from this apparition. The Bella Coola say that this being may not have been a ghost as he had thought, but was perhaps one of the under-sea dwellers who have somewhat the same appearance.

Since ghosts, like other supernatural beings, are believed to possess both wisdom and power, it might be thought that they would be invoked frequently. Instead, death has altered their character to such an extent that they are avoided and kept at a distance. The only time that an appeal is made to a ghost is when a young person dies without apparent reason and the survivors wish to learn the cause. The body is buried with a long cord consisting of alternate strands of dyed and undyed cedar-bark projecting from its mouth and stretching to the surface. The relative desiring information summons to his house several shamans whose powers have been obtained

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"I am *Ánolχmdimut*," she said. "Everyone calls on me to visit the sick, and henceforth they will likewise seek you and your basin." 756* 787*

Something entered his stomach, causing it to heave violently, and he felt that the sickness had left him. He sent for the singers and repeated to them the words that *Ťlitcäplilän·a* had chanted; these formed the text of the shaman's song which he used on future occasions. While giving them to the singers, he endeavoured to dance, but was too feeble to do more than weakly shake his hands. From that time on, *Ánolχmdimut* was able to cure the sick.

This last account is typical. *Ťlitcäplilän·a* appears, inserts something into the body of the patient to cure him, sings one or more songs, gives the sufferer a name, and then vanishes. [553] The curing power thus bestowed remains within the person benefited; it is this that enables him to heal others if *Ťlitcäplilän·a* has so decided. In such cases, there is mention of a "basin" in the song, and the one who has just recovered will be able to treat others, especially those suffering from the same [755] malady as himself. The reference to a basin is because such utensils are used during treatments. To the Bella Coola a shaman is one who has had such an experience and has publicly claimed it, whether or not he can cure the sick.

Ťlitcäplilän·a is known by many names, in accordance with her ability to treat many diseases, and the designation she bestows depends upon the malady cured. The following are some of the names received from her by shamans. [776] [553]

Sexsexqwalχelaoslaix, "The Strengthener of the Breath." This name was given to a person who was cured when he found breathing very difficult. The text of his song was: [551]

"*Ťlitcäplilän·a* gave me (the name) *Sexsexqwalχelaoslaix* with a small object to aid the breathing of the very sick." [533]

Tämtämslo·psta. This has the same significance as the last. [551]

Nexnäx·mälosaix, "The Dancer Near the Fire."

Ánolχmdimut, "The Dancer Who Makes Noise Only with

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His Body." A shaman with this name does not use a rattle when curing.

Ănuxelnɯmut, "Quivering To and Fro." This refers to the movements of a shaman when he dances for curative purposes.

Qpänpäntiktnɯmlaix, "The Revolver." This is derived from *qpäntiktnɯm*, to revolve sunwise, and as this is done for curative purposes, the name really signifies, "The One Who Restores to Strength."

It is believed that *Ťlitcäplilän·a* often uses her own discretion about visiting the sick, but that sometimes a number of the supernatural beings confer as to whether an ailing person should be helped, and if so request her to visit him. Sometimes the patient is so sick that an enormous amount of power must be inserted to help him, and he dies from its receipt. In such cases he is revived by *Ănunitsektnɯm*, a male being whose sole function is to restore those whom *Ťlitcäplilän·a* has slain. This return to life has frequently occurred when relatives have been mourning the death of the patient, who is presently able to recount all that he has seen. Sometimes *Ťlitcäplilän·a*, instead of herself bestowing power upon a sick person, carries him[1] away to a locality in which a supernatural being was petrified in the beginning of time.

Although it is *Ťlitcäplilän·a* who most frequently cures a sick person, there are many instances of other supernatural beings having done so. Little seems to be known of these, except that they have been recorded as appearing to give a patient their name and to cure him of his malady. So far as could be ascertained, they are thought of only in connection with apparitions to the sick and, since in function they exactly resemble *Ťlitcäplilän·a*, and as it is she who is most commonly spoken of, it is possible, or even probable, that these are actually the same being under other names. The following beings are of this type.

[1] The Bella Coola do not theorize as to the part of the person thus transported; if questioned, they conclude that it must be the spirit.

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* 756 * 787 [553] [556] that he is a shaman, and his future status depends on his success in curing those who appeal to him. If the man decides not to make use of his experience, he must not mention the name of his apparition, as to do so would not only prevent further benefits, but would cause the return of the disease from which he had been suffering. Some shamans have waited until they have received three or four separate visitations, acquiring a name at each; and a Bella Bella man was known to have had ten. Whether or not it is wise at once to display shaman's power is a matter on which there is no general agreement. On the one hand by long, and perhaps fruitless, waiting, a man postpones the social esteem which would have been his if he had at once displayed his prowess, gambling with his chances of receiving still greater gifts. While awaiting further visitations, a man may be able to make use of the power already received, although he cannot do so formally as an accredited shaman. Thus one man, who long ago was visited by a supernatural being, but has made no public claim of his apparition, [755] is able to cure stomach-ache among his own grandchildren by massaging the stomach as if to force something from it, and then puffing this something, four times, from his spread hands. Still hoping for power, he declined to say by which supernatural being he had been visited.

The following account was obtained from one of the few old Bella Coola who claim to have had shamanistic experiences. It describes what is done when the patient decides not to wait for further revelations:

When comparatively young, the informant slept one night in the forest with a companion. On awakening the following morning, they found a trail of dried blood leading to their blankets. They examined themselves and found no wound, so concluded that the blood could not be their own, and, therefore, was a mystery, over which they worried for a few days but then forgot. About a week later, the narrator of the incident dreamed that a strange creature came to him; he did not know what it was, but it terrified him. A few minutes later

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The Curing of the Sick

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When a person is ill one of his relatives comes to request a shaman to cure him.

"I will help the mortal," answers the shaman, as though he were himself a supernatural being.

Indeed he considers himself to be removed from the ranks of ordinary mortals, and refers to the being from whom he has received his power as "comrade." No mention of recompense is made, but the shaman understands that if he succeeds he will be rewarded. Donning his collar of alternate rows of dyed and undyed cedar-bark, he proceeds to the patient's house, usually followed by some of the singers, as well as by anyone else who is interested. He throws himself down beside, or on, the sick person and begins to feel for the sickness. Particularly in the case of stomach or chest trouble this is a difficult matter. The practitioner kneads the flesh, pounds the patient, leaps on him, and pummels him until a spectator wonders that the sufferer survives. The aim throughout is to bring the disease, pictured as a foreign object having material form, towards the surface whence it can be extracted in one of the following ways. [753]

(1) Some shamans of long ago were the possessors of life-sticks, and could cure merely by touching the patient with the life-giving end.

(2) In a simple illness the shaman is able to cure by his power alone. After locating the seat of the disease he casts himself on the patient, with head pressed close to the spot where he has located the trouble, and growls and grunts with half-closed lips, ejecting a flow of saliva over the sick person. By so doing he inserts his own power into the sufferer, who at once begins to imitate the chattering and to shake his hands. Then the shaman proceeds to recall this power to himself by scooping it up with half-cupped hands. Endowed as he is, the sickness is harmless to him. No instance is known of a shaman having failed to recall his power, but, theoretically, if he did

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not do so, he would cease to be a shaman, and the ability would pass to the cured person.

(3) In more difficult cases the shaman uses his basin and seeks assistance from others by a frenzied beating of sticks. He sends some young man out to fill the receptacle at the river, sets it near the patient, and throws water over him as he kneads in the manner already described. While this is going on, and it is often a lengthy performance, another shaman, or someone accustomed to lead the singers, ranges the bystanders into two rows, facing each other between the door and the central fire. Each is provided with a beating stick such as the singers use, and a sounding-board is placed before each row. The clever dancer who has been commissioned to lead the orchestra of stick-beaters stands near the door and the musicians take their time from his movements. First he slowly raises both arms and all beat time softly, then, as he lifts his arms higher, the noise increases, and he sways from side to side as if carried away by the music; as he does so the men towards whom he leans intensify their beating, while those on the other side decrease. Back and forth he sways followed by the beating; nearing the climax he treads mincingly, whereat the noise rises to thunder-pitch, then jumps twice, and as he strikes the ground the drums beat and all the sticks come down with a final ear-splitting crash. Throughout the whole the women drone *i*..... This elaborate beating of time is repeated four times, on each occasion concluding with the double jump which calls forth the double thunder of drums and sticks.

Meanwhile the functioning shaman is gurgling and chattering through half-closed lips, and at intervals the leader, or any stick-beater, shouts *hoip*, a call which is supposed to soothe the supernatural beings. The din is tremendous. No explanation could be found of the meaning of this noise.

"It has always been done," say the Bella Coola, and they theorize no further.

At last the shaman rises from the sick person, holding his hands carefully cupped together as if he held something within

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them that might escape. It is the sickness! The din increases; the leader works himself into a frenzy with his rapid gyrations, then he stills the noise as the shaman goes to the door. In dead silence, the more striking in contrast to the previous tumult, he partly opens his hands and puffs against them, as if blowing something out of the door, at the same time calling out, *hoip*. Again the beating of sticks breaks out, again it is stilled, and again the shaman blows forth the sickness. This is done four times. The shaman uses his own discretion whether to send the sickness through the door or the smoke-vent.

A variant of this method is for the functioning shaman to dance during the beating of sticks, before throwing himself on the patient. With chattering teeth and shaking rattle, he revolves sunwise, his free arm bent at the elbow so that his wrist, which he shakes freely, is close to his chin; at intervals he calls out, *snuaixwa*. It is a serious and important proceeding to the Bella Coola, and the effects are considered nullified if a dog barks during the stick-beating.

(4) Some powerful shamans cure by the use of dyed and undyed cedar-bark. A roll made of these two substances is placed among glowing embers until it is itself afire, when the shaman puts it in his mouth. After dancing for some time to the accompaniment of frenzied stick-beating, he hauls forth the bark, still burning, and again puts it in the fire. This is done four times. Then he thrusts the burning bark into the patient's mouth, and leaves it there for some time before pulling it forth. This, too, is repeated four times. When finally drawn forth, it has attracted the sickness, which can then be thrown away by the throwing away of the bark. It seems clear that this must be done by conjuring, but the writer was unable to learn the method employed, and was repeatedly assured that no subterfuge was used.

(5) One illness is caused by a person carelessly stepping on a dead salmon, such as dot the banks of the rivers in the autumn. The fish, indignant, injects a sickness into the offender.

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offender. A shaman is able to diagnose the malady, and when he has pulled it forth in the manner previously described, he ties it up in a bundle of four pieces of dyed, and four of undyed, cedar-bark, sprinkles eagle down over the whole, and throws it into the river. This not only causes the sickness to return whence it has come, but placates the salmon who are glad to receive the beautiful cedar-bark.

(6) Another method is by making a present to *T̈litcäplilän·a*. The shaman prepares four collars of hemlock twigs, wrapped around with alternate bands of dyed and undyed cedar-bark, and with numerous cross-pieces of dyed cedar-bark. When these are ready, all assemble to witness the curing, and to assist the practitioner by beating sticks. He first sets four basins, one at each corner of the fire, and then proceeds to pull it apart, leaving a glowing expanse of embers in the centre. The shaman throws on this bed pieces of dyed and undyed cedar-bark, as well as eagle down, and walks through, between the two halves of the separated fire. Several men stated that they had seen this done, but none could give any information as to the method. If actually carried out, the way in which the fire was prevented from burning the shaman and the highly inflammable bark and eagle down has been lost.

The shaman himself now guides the beating of sticks. When the tumult has reached its height he goes to the patient and places over his head one of the collars, passing it right down over his body, breaking the cross strings of dyed cedar-bark as he does so. The patient rises and the shaman picks up the collar from beneath his feet; his body has thus passed entirely through it. The sick man then revolves once, sunwise, while the shaman carries the collar once, sunwise, around the fire. He then stills the beating of sticks, which has been going on throughout, and casts the circlet on the fire. The same procedure is repeated with the three remaining collars. It is believed that these offerings reach *T̈litcäplilän·a* who, pleased to

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receive such pretty objects, restores the sick, though she does not herself come to do so.

The shāman now sends a young man out to fill his curing basin. When this is done, he carries it around the fire, once, sunwise, and sets it down beside the patient. The practitioner drinks from it, and casts some eagle down on the surface. If it revolves sunwise, it signifies that the patient will soon recover, and the shaman proceeds to wash him with the water; if it remains stationary or revolves in the opposite direction, it is an unfavourable sign, and he throws the water out of the door. More is then brought, and the procedure repeated until it revolves sunwise. Although no Bella Coola can state definitely how this is performed, the concensus of opinion is that it is done by twisting the box slightly.

Shamans are not the only ones who make offerings to *Ťlitcāplilān·a*. It is generally known that she likes to receive things, so a sick person often throws on the fire a little grease, some of his own clothing, or other objects of small value. By so doing he hopes that she may appear, or that the sickness will vanish as the object is consumed in the flames. A person in good health sometimes makes like offerings, either on the central house fire or on one built behind the house, at the same time asking *Ťlitcāplilān·a* to help guard him.

(7) In recent years some shamans have been in the habit of displaying the sickness in visible form; this is said to have been a practice adopted from the Bella Bella. After throwing himself on top of the patient the shaman sucks violently, and produces such an object as a toad, a snail, or a stick of wood, which he claims to have been the cause of the malady. This has, of course, been concealed throughout in his mouth. This belief is fostered by the undoubted skill of some shamans in extracting such foreign substances as a salmon bone, wedged in a patient's throat, or a sliver. In such cases he first works with his fingers to force the object near the surface. It is believed that some shamans are so powerful they can draw forth foreign substances by the mere application of their stick

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to the part affected. In such a case the object, a toad for example, becomes visible at the end of the staff. Conjuring is employed to do this, and often a tuft of dyed cedar-bark is used, which makes the deception still easier. Shamans are very expert in such matters. It is said that when two rival shamans once disputed about their prowess, one of them cast his stick on the ground and it became a snake, whereupon the other did likewise; and his became a toad which hopped after the snake. The Bella Coola find biblical parallels for such revelations of power in the transformation of Aaron's rod, and the appearance of fire on Mount Carmel.

Shamanistic Ceremonies

In addition to his professional abilities, a shaman has also certain social prerogatives. As has been mentioned, many shamans lack the power to cure, but they may have seen some feat during a dream, or during a visitation from *Tlitcdplidn·a*. It enhances a man's social prestige if he can graphically display whatever he has observed. It follows that the rites about to be described are often, perhaps usually, performed by a person unable to cure the sick, but it must be remembered that to the Bella Coola there is no social difference between a shaman who can cure with the aid of a basin, and one who lacks this power. Each has merely received a different gift from his supernatural benefactor. There seems little doubt that a man of imaginative temperament frequently invents a feat of this type, or rather that he ponders over one until he either dreams of it, or imagines himself to have done so. Certainly, after he has performed such a rite, he deludes himself into believing that he has had supernatural authorization for it. Conjuring feats performed long ago by shamans, feats practised by the members of other tribes, personal inventions, either actually or theoretically dreamed of, all these are among the sources from which shamanistic dances are derived. It follows that almost anyone who has the necessary skill is able to perform, provided that he has sufficient food to validate the ceremony. Thus this

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it. The uninitiated are so steeped in the atmosphere of belief that any simple conjuring trick is sufficient to delude them. 781 789

Finally, the following account is here inserted, though the details of the performance could not be learnt.

The father of an elderly Bella Coola was once so sick that no one could help him. He had coughed up blood, eagle down had been heaped on his body, and hope had been abandoned. Then a *sxiuti* came to him, restoring his health and making him a very powerful shaman. His supernatural visitor had told him to employ his power beneficially, and had further instructed him in the use of a rod wherein it lay. Whenever this man danced, a stick, decorated with bands of cedar-bark wound spirally, was hung horizontally from the roof of his house. He carried one similarly embellished, but smaller, about two and a half feet long and three inches in diameter, having at one end a tuft of bark. During his dance, in which he sang of *sxiuti*, he went under the suspended stick, held the small one in his hand, blew on one end of it, then threw it up so that it struck the large hanging one. This was presumably done by the tuft of bark folding over and catching in some way. Again he danced and, when underneath where the two sticks were suspended, he jumped up, and caught the lower end of the smaller with his hands. This supported his weight, and he swung back and forth on it until he voluntarily released his grip and dropped. When next he danced at the same spot he held out one hand with palm uppermost beneath the smaller stick; the other was held in front of his mouth pointing towards the suspended one. He blew on the latter as if blowing dust from his hand to the point of contact of the two sticks, and the smaller dropped into his outstretched hand. 756* 789

By means of this stick the shaman could cure diseases. When told in what part of the body the pain was situated he pressed on that part with one end of his stick. Then he carried it to the fire and held in the smoke the end that had been in contact with the sickness. He puffed twice at it with his 755 756*

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mouth, and the malady departed. It had been absorbed into the stick, and later driven from it by the shaman's breath.

This man made a great reputation for himself with his ability to hang from his small stick. On one occasion, after fishing on the lower Fraser River, he was encamped on the ocean beach near Seattle, where he had gone to pick hops. Four white men who had heard of his powers came to his tent for a demonstration. He put on his robes, took his small stick from his box, and used the ridge pole of his tent as the heavier horizontal one. The white men examined the small stick and found nothing peculiar about it. The man performed his dance, in the course of it throwing the small stick up against the ridge pole, where it remained suspended with the actor hanging from it. After releasing his hold, he struck the smaller stick a slight blow with his hand and it at once came away from the ridge pole.

As already mentioned, it is extremely difficult to obtain accounts of dreams which have served as sources for shamanistic performances. They are unconsciously embellished by the performer to such an extent that the ritual displayed has probably slight resemblance to the vision on which it is based.

The following, however, is an example of the type that could have served as theme. A man once dreamed that he saw Mount *Nusqalst* with its rocks adorned with handsome pictures. The other mountains of the valley were also decorated, but none of them was so fine. If he had had the desire and the necessary wealth he could have arranged with the carpenters to have the designs that he saw in his dream painted, and could have displayed them as a shaman's vision.

A shaman, particularly one who has received a vision from *Thlexpliléa·o*, and who has had marked success both in curing the sick and in giving conjuring exhibitions, is considered to be in peculiarly close association with supernatural beings. Accordingly, he is regarded as a fit person to ask their assistance, not that he has any means of gaining help that are not open to others, but merely that his greater acquaintance with

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them renders it more likely that they will grant his requests. Therefore, a shaman is usually called upon to perform the following rites:

(1) Washing the mouth of a person who has died without voiding from his body the first salmon or olachen of the season (I, p. 436).

(2) Asking assistance for the complicated rites of the potlatch (I, p. 192).

(3) Request for assistance before starting on a journey, by puffing eagle down into the air (I, p. 106).

(4) Request for aid by means of placing food on the water and blowing eagle down into the air at Mesatche Nose and Kwatna (I, p. 109).

In fact a supplication to any supernatural being can be made with greater prospect of success by a shaman than by any other person.

The Power of Shamans

As has been said, a shaman actually has power within himself, and this is so strong that it may be a source of danger to others. If a man should pass behind one so endowed when the latter is eating, his spirit would be drawn from his body into the shaman's mouth, which would close with a click, crushing the spirit and killing the man. This is quite involuntary on the part of the shaman. It happened more than once among the early inhabitants, and since that time people have been very careful not to pass behind an eating shaman; this taboo was still in force until about 1885. A shaman, too, is said to be able to recall a spirit which has left its body, and thus caused illness. It is believed by some that shamans can see the position of a person's tally post, and so judge the length of his life. These examples show the varying beliefs of different Bella Coola concerning the powers of shamans.

But the force within the shaman is really more dangerous to its possessor than to others. As certain "unclean" objects are able to subdue supernatural beings, so do these same ob-

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jects have power over shamans. A shaman must never sleep beside his wife during her menses, must never eat food prepared by a menstruating woman, by one who has recently washed a new-born infant, by a girl during the period of seclusion following puberty, or by a widow or widower during the year that follows the death of his partner. If a shaman's nose bleeds when he is dancing it is because a menstruating woman is present in the house; he at once asks the offender to withdraw, after which the bleeding stops. Moreover, he must never cure a woman during her periods. A wise shaman practises ceremonial chastity frequently. In view of the lack of cleanliness ascribed to menstrual blood, it is perhaps surprising that a woman can become a shaman while still of child-bearing age. This is rare, and only occurs when a woman is the last survivor of a family. The Bella Coola themselves consider it to be peculiar, only explicable on the ground that anything is possible to the supernatural beings, even the disregarding of feminine "uncleanness." Usually, female shamans are past the age of child-bearing; if not, they observe absolute chastity.

Even inadvertent breaking of one of these rules causes death. This is not regarded as a punishment inflicted by *Thitcäplilăn·a*; it is merely the inevitable consequence of the supernatural power within the shaman having come in contact with what is not clean. As a shaman is considered to be immune against all ordinary ailments, his death is always attributed to the breaking of a taboo. Frequently the death of a shaman is accompanied by some convulsion of nature. One female shaman, for example, told the people of her village to keep their children within doors, since a supernatural being was coming for her. Soon it became dark; there were four loud claps of thunder, at the fourth of which she fell dead.

The following was related as an instance of the danger to a shaman of coming in contact with an unclean woman.

The son of the first man to come to earth at *Nulleax* was, like his father, named *Dudzsoxʷ*. One April he and his wife went upstream to *Xwaxtlo*, a place in the country of the Carriers where milk-weed is plen-

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shaman from the dead once visited the land of ghosts and learnt their needs. They informed him that food and clothing thrown on the ground did not reach them, and that in order to do so it must be cast on the fire. Instead of journeying to the land of the dead some shamans receive their powers from ghosts who ascend to this earth, as the following account describes.

Within the lifetime of an elderly Bella Coola informant, a certain woman, *Sikwalxwlelux* by name, left her house one evening for a few minutes. When she came back she was crazy. Her face was green, her mouth and face distorted and twisted, she could only whistle when she tried to talk, and kept endeavouring to walk on her hands. Taking her blankets, she went through the motions of washing them, but instead of using water, she dragged them to and fro through the ashes of the central fire, until, utterly exhausted, she lay down. By these symptoms it was recognized that a ghost had stricken her with madness, and several shamans of the dead were called upon for help. For a long time their efforts were fruitless. Then one of them obtained some stained menstrual pads. While another conducted the frantic beating of sticks, the leading practitioner waved one of the pads through the smoke of the central fire and laid it, with hemlock bark and dyed cedar-bark, on the patient's face. After leaving it there a few moments, he took it off and, while the beating of sticks was stilled, threw it out the door. When this had been done four times the woman was restored to sanity. Later on she said she had seen the ghost of a certain *Tcixwoil*, a man recently deceased. Emerging from her trance she found herself in her house surrounded by numerous people and the shaman working over her. If he had not been able to cure her, she would have died; in fact, it was impossible to discover whether the Bella Coola regarded this woman as having been cured of an illness, or as having been restored from the dead.

Sikwalxwlelux called for the singers to whom she sang four songs, relating what she had seen. They described how she stood by a fire in the land below, where the sun travelled from west to east, and where everything differed from this earth, though reminiscent of it. The singers learnt the songs, and it was to their music that the woman danced on later occasions. She was able ever afterwards not only to cure maladies caused by ghosts but to talk with them. For this purpose she was in the habit of lying down at night in the graveyard, looking down into the land of the dead which was open to her, and conversing with the inhabitants in a strange whistling language which the living could hear, but could not

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called out to him, and then remembered no more. It was obvious that she had seen a ghost.

It is over diseases caused by ghosts that a shaman from the dead has power. If a person picks up and eats any morsels which he has dropped he will usually suffer, because, though he thinks the crumbs have fallen, they have really been pulled from his hands by a hungry ghost, who thus showed his desire for food. By picking up and eating the fragments, the man thwarts a dead person who retaliates by forcing some sickness into him. Ghosts may visit this land of the living and ask their relatives for food or clothing, but mortals, unable to hear the speech of the dead, are unaware of the requests of their deceased relatives, and so do not answer them. The irritated ghosts respond by causing sickness. In such cases a shaman from the dead is able to suck out the cause of the ill, and sometimes to display it as a bone, twig, or other small object and at the same time to tell the sufferer what it was that his relatives desired. Like ordinary shamans, a shaman from the dead uses his own discretion whether or not to employ the violent beating of sticks, and like his fellow-practitioner receives payment from those whom he has helped. There are no fixed charges, but a successful shaman is always wealthy.

The intimate contact of ghosts with shamans has already been mentioned in connection with the ability of the latter to learn from the ghost of a murdered person whom he believes to be his slayer.

There is one method of sacrificial curing practised by shamans from the dead alone. If the sickness refuses to yield to ordinary methods, the practitioner makes ten cedar-bark vessels, fills these with grease and places them near the fire, one between it and the door, one on the inner side, and four on either side of it, parallel to the side walls of the house. By each vessel are placed two small wooden figures, roughly carved to represent men, and decorated with dyed and undyed cedar-bark. After endeavouring to suck forth the disease, with or without the assistance of the frenzied beating of sticks, the

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shaman pours the grease on the central fire, and throws on it also the figures and some dried salmon. Thus propitiated, it is believed that the dead will be more likely to allow the sickness to be sucked forth.

Shamans from the dead perform conjuring feats and dramatic performances of the same type as ordinary shamans. Until he gives his first dance a newly created shaman is known as a *lsux*, the same word that is used for a *kusiut* initiate, and during this period he wears the shaman's collar of intertwined dyed and undyed cedar-bark. If he is wealthy and influential, a shaman will repeat his dance every fourth year. Such a performance can be held at any season, although the usual time is after the *kusiut* ceremonies. The dramatic representations are of scenes witnessed in the land below, though sometimes they are done in a reverse manner, following the practice of the dead in doing things strangely. Thus one shaman reported that the ghosts wore very long blankets, but when he danced he wore one that came only to his hips. The method of singing is the same as that employed by ordinary shamans, but one whose power is derived from the dead dances with head bent downwards, his free hand pointing to the ground with first finger extended. Also his cry of "*xwai, xwai, xwai,*" uttered at intervals with a deep cadence, differs from that used by ordinary shamans. A dance always terminates with the distribution of food to validate the ceremony.

Like ordinary shamans, those from the dead cannot transmit their power. At death their songs too are lost, unless they choose to give them to a friend who is also a shaman from the dead. This is obviously contrary to the theoretical belief that all songs have been obtained during revelations, but is not at all contrary to the Bella Coola practice of having the singers assist the visionaries in "remembering" their visions.

The following tale, although drawn from the distant past, is a typical illustration of one of the many ways in which shamanistic power is received from the dead.[1]

[1] A few stories of similar type have been included in vol. I, chap. VIII to explain the life of the dead, and others are grouped together in the next chapter.

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About half a mile from the glacier there is a large rock shelter where mountain goat hunters are wont to smoke their meat. They are always careful to take with them dyed and undyed cedar-bark and eagle down, knowing that they may encounter the supernatural. Sometimes they hear the voice of *ɯɣɛkam*, a deep, long drawn-out hum, *m*·····. If this sound is repeated four times it is a happy augury, but if heard only once it presages ill fortune. In either case some member of the party, one who is ceremonially clean and is brave, blackens his face, puts on a collar of dyed cedar-bark, covered with eagle down, steps outside, and says in effect:

"Hail! Petrified One. In the beginning you came down from *Ałquntăm*, from all that was wonderful and powerful. You have not changed, hence we mortals can still hear your voice. Please, may it be well with us. There is none other like you."

If the supplicant is ceremonially clean the mountain will answer *hi*·····, four times, and there will be heard what sounds like a great landslide. Then the petitioner takes some small portions of meat, some dyed and some undyed cedar-bark, and eagle down and throws them on the fire.

"Please accept, Oh *Kusiaot*" (Powerful One), he says.

Thus propitiated, *ɯɣɛkam* grants them success in hunting.

778 (13) *Spipixlnăn·i*: On the south side of the Dean River about one mile from its mouth. Here, in the beginning of time, Raven cast his war-knife, *spla*, which was turned to stone and can still be seen. Its power has likewise become localized at this point.

(14) In the beginning of time Mount *Swaky*, near the Dean River, was a man who was turned to stone. Across the river is his wife, *Ałsalnexkł*, whose ancestral name is *Kamilkăn*, likewise petrified.

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In most of these places[1] a sick person can receive assistance, if he is willing to risk the consequent dangers. The first essential is that he be in a "clean" condition by the observance of

[1] [i.e. - certain spots where power is localized - see cat. 116, pp 594-600 for their location - ANALYST]

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ceremonial chastity. This state is pleasing to supernatural beings, who otherwise are likely to punish one trespassing on their haunts. The Bella Coola have not clearly formulated their beliefs with regard to these places, consequently the experiences of one individual are usually quite different from those of another, a circumstance regarded as quite natural on the assumption that the supernatural beings are able to manifest themselves in many ways.

Sṫexṫekwailx and the Hot Springs on Labouchere Channel are the places that figure most commonly in mythology. At the former is *Sṫexṫekwailx*'s chamber-vessel, a pool always full of clear water though not fed by any spring. If a person suffering from the virulent skin disease known as *Ḥokilx* swims in it, drinks some of the water, and then vomits, he will recover.

Not only the pond itself, but the whole neighbourhood, is the seat of mysterious power, as the following tale describes.

Near the western end of the pool there is a rock from which long ago three men dived and failed to return. A sick man decided to do the same and leapt in, feet first, wearing around his chest some dyed cedar-bark. He plunged through the water and found that he was standing on the roof of a house; he walked around it, then returned to the surface, and back to his starting point. He dived three times more, and when he emerged for the fourth time his sickness had left him. He returned to Bella Coola and told of his experience. Since that time sick people have been carried to the pool, and have dived in from the same rock, always feet first, and always wearing dyed cedar-bark. All are able to feel the roof of the house, and are cured by the immersion.

The trail used by the Carrier Indians when raiding the coastal tribes passed by this lake, and on one occasion the Bella Coola, bent on retaliation, used the same path and paused to rest on the shore. They all bathed in the pool and asked help from the power there localized, then as they lay on the grass drying their long hair in the sunshine, a house emerged. Slowly it floated upwards, filling the whole area formerly occu-

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778 pied by the water, and came to rest when it had risen to the
* 787 usual height of a house. As each of the spectators gazed upon
it he saw within that on which his own mind was centred. As
539 it were in perspective he visualized his whole life, both past
and future. One man saw the slaying of an enemy, another
a potlatch with himself in the role of donor, another his chil-
dren, and a sensual individual saw a man and woman in the
sexual act. To each it appeared that the house contained only
one image. Then slowly the house sank into the depths. The
party went on and had great success, killing their enemies, who
were powerless before them, without the loss of a single Bella
●[755] Coola. It was this house which the sick people felt with their
feet; the sight of it had given the warriors phenomenal ability.

778 Another seat of power is near the western end of the lake
* 787 where the trail passes between two piles of dark red rocks that
rise to a height of three or four feet. Each is roughly squared
like a brick with dimensions of approximately 8 by 6 by 6
inches. The heaps are not regular, and yet form a distinct
cairn. If a passer-by wishes to ascertain the length of his life,
he takes a stick and shoves out one of the stones, which rolls
far down the hillside; if he can do so without disturbing the
rest, he will have long life, but should fate decree for him a
short one, the whole pile falls in disorder. Another sign of long
life is when the mass sways back and forth, emitting a squeak-
ing sound like the leather in a new shoe, as he endeavours to
poke out one of the rocks of which it is composed. On the
traveller's return from the interior the heap has always as-
sumed its original shape, though no one has ever seen one of
the stones being picked up by human agency.

778 Sick people also derive benefit from immersion in the Hot
[755] Springs on Labouchere Channel. The following account was
obtained from a man who himself underwent treatment there.

539 When a young man he had been initiated into the *kusiut*
778 society as a Breaker (II, p. 123) and as such wore a bear-skin
cloak. His relatives were wealthy and advised him to keep
his robe, saying that they would make it possible for him to

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dance again in eight years. Four years later, one of his fellow-villagers offered him five skins for the one which he had used, and, when this was declined, the number was raised to ten, then to fifteen, and finally to twenty new bear-skins. As there was no particular value in the mantle itself, the owner became suspicious and asked advice from his mother who admonished him not to sell, in view of the time when he would want it. Accordingly, he did not accept the offer, but when it was increased to twenty-five skins he did so. He did not know that the purchaser's desire for it was to enable him to injure the seller by magic through the acquisition of this personal possession.

The sale took place in April, and the following December the former owner became crippled with a disease which so weakened his back that he could hardly raise himself from the ground. When the sickness had lasted for one year, his friends carried him away to the Hot Springs on Labouchere Channel.

It was known that if a patient were left night and day in the spring, scrubbing himself with hemlock boughs, he often was given such power by a supernatural being that, like a shaman of old, he could kill or cure by means of a stick. Many of this man's relatives had been killed by rivals envious of their success in giving potlatches, so it was feared that he might wish to retaliate if he gained too much power. To prevent this, he was removed from the spring at night. On the first day as he lay on a mat in the warm water, there appeared on a flat stone a diminutive man, about two feet tall, resembling a Bella Coola except for a short tail. It was probably a *tläqmä·ks*, such as his first ancestor had obtained (I, p. 688). The little creature ran around the stone; when it returned to the starting point it stopped and was joined by a second one of the same kind. The two circled the stone three times, on each occasion stopping at the starting point; they then vanished. The next day while the patient lay in the stream he heard from within the mountain four beats of a drum and a sound as if a large number of people were talking and calling together, though he

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could not distinguish any actual words. This ceased, to be followed by the hissing sound of escaping steam; the water became so unbearably hot that, crippled though he was, he managed to crawl out. His courage soon revived, so, wrapping his head in his blanket, he returned to the spring. The water was still unpleasantly hot on his body and legs, but the covering protected his head. The same phenomenon occurred on the two following days. Four days later he was well enough to walk and was brought home. During his treatment he saw supernatural beings, and is still hoping for a further revelation that will make him a shaman. He believes that this would have been granted to him if his friends had allowed him to remain in the spring overnight.

During the four days of his immersion he ate nothing, and his only nourishment was a little mountain goat grease which he did not swallow but kept in the right side of his mouth. After each bath he scrubbed himself with hemlock boughs. As in all such cases, for one year he observed continence and refrained from eating unsmoked salmon. Failure to observe these taboos would have caused his death.[15]

According to another account the creature that visits a patient lying in the Hot Springs is a *bāb!nk'*. As already described, it is a hairless animal, about as large as a small moose, with legs so short that its belly almost scrapes the ground, no tail, and a large head with glass-like eyes. The whole appearance suggests an enormous walking snake. This animal approaches the sick person, as he lies on a flat stone[16] in the spring, and takes a bite from wherever the sickness is situated. No wound can afterwards be seen, but the ailment is carried away with the biting. If the patient should lack courage and endeavour to escape he would soon die.

Others of these animals of the same or similar variety have been observed about forty miles up the Bella Coola valley.

[15] See vol. I, p. 609 for further results of this treatment.
[16] There are two of these, one used by men and one by women.

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Between 1890 and 1900 two more were seen near Double Mountain. The last Bella Coola to see these animals left *Stuix* one morning armed with a light shot-gun. He followed the trail to the interior and was crossing the bare mountain, *Kotsnk'*, about forty-eight miles from the sea, when he decided to turn aside to shoot some of the ducks which breed in great quantities on the small lakes near the top of the mountain. As he stalked through the grass he heard a rustling, and crawled so that he could get a better view of the place whence it came. He saw two *babsnk'* which were catching ducks with their long tongues by shooting them out from their mouths. After watching them for some time the man returned to the camp without disturbing them. This man has only recently died. In former times they were more common, but one was seen not many years ago by a Carrier Indian.

According to other informants, no one knows what supernatural visitor comes to the spring, since it always appears at night, and any one who is rash enough to look at it dies immediately. A bold patient lies still, with eyes closed, while he is massaged back to health.

Another man, while fishing for one of the canneries, had been in the habit of landing at the Hot Springs to get hot water for his tea. He drew it from a small trickle which emerged from a rock near at hand. On one occasion the flow stopped when he put his pot beneath, but recommenced on his withdrawing it. Thinking this a mere accident, he reinserted the vessel only to have the water cease again. When this had happened four times, he realized that the cessation had been intended by some supernatural power.

"Hail! Powerful One," he called out. "I understand you now."

He knew that it must be some creature within the rock that had stopped the flow, not wishing it to be so used, and since then he has obtained his water elsewhere.

Leaving these tales of the past, which stress the supernatural, and passing from the experiences of men of sensitive, imaginative disposition, it is possible to describe the methods commonly employed by the Bella Coola when wishing to take advantage of the curative properties of these localities. In cases of serious illness it is common for a sufferer to make the rounds of all five places located on the ocean. This was done, for example, by the father of an informant who had seen what he took to be a spring salmon in an inland stream where no ocean salmon should have been. He was foolish enough to leap in to catch the fish, which was really a *sxiutl*, and as it

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778 rushed past him it brushed his legs. From its malign touch they became as if tied together at the knees, so that he could 755 hardly walk. When all other cures failed he bathed in all the * [787] healing places on the coast, and was cured by the time he had returned to Bella Coola.

[785] Before embarking on such an expedition, a sufferer must observe continence for at least three months, and continue this after his return, otherwise he will die. It is wise to start at *Snuwals*, on South Bentinck Arm, proceeding from there down South Bentinck Arm, across Labouchere Channel, and towards Kimsquit, since in this way the patient travels sunwise, increasing the potency of his efforts.

At *Snuwals* there is a ledge of rock that projects out over the water; the sick person dives through a hole into the fiord. From this point he proceeds to *Nukilä·xta*, on the east side of South Bentinck Arm, about half a mile above the Hot Springs. This is the place of the giant, many-coloured spider, turned to stone. Among its legs there are numerous holes in which the patient lays a stick and pieces of his clothing, taken from the part of the body affected, saying as he does so:

"Please, Powerful One, help me to return to strength."

The third place of curing is the Hot Springs on South Bentinck Arm, *Ixpe·xam*. Here the patient lies in the hot water and leaves portions of his worn clothing as some sort of vague offering to the being there. The Bella Coola have no clear conception as to why the scraps should be left; apparently they have never considered whether it was actually of service to the being. At the present time it appears to be only a ritual handed down from great antiquity.

Leaving South Bentinck Arm the patient proceeds to the Hot Springs on Labouchere Channel, the characteristics of which have already been described. The final place visited is *Anulxwam*, on the west side of Dean Channel about nine miles below Kimsquit, where the ocean penetrates far under a ledge of rock. The sufferer is lowered through a vent about six feet in diameter until he stands on a boulder at the edge of the sea

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in a kind of a cave. He here unties the rope, dives into the water and out through a narrow passage to the open fiord where he is picked up by a waiting canoe.

If he is to recover, he feels as he dives the scraping of some rough-skinned animal against his side. No one knows what this is, perhaps a fish about seventy yards in length which was seen near the place about 1905. If a person is too ill to make the dive unaided, a stick is forced through the entrance from the fiord, with a rope attached. The patient, who has been lowered to the ledge from the upper air, is then tied firmly to the stick and hauled out. Before leaving, shreds of his clothing are always left at the mouth of the cave in payment to its supernatural occupant for his assistance.

The method of curing at the spot, *Ałłssmos*, differs from those previously described since it is only the man whose repository (II, p. 8) is there who is able to exercise the power. Patients whose flesh has become rotten are carried to the place and he scrubs their bodies, in the water, with various prickly bushes. This man is not a shaman, his power rests solely on the fact that this curing place is his repository.

At *ɯɣekam* the virulent skin disease *Ḥokɬx* can be cured.[17] This is caused by a morsel of cohoe salmon or fern root passing from the mouth up into the head, instead of down into the stomach. The Bella Coola have only slight knowledge of anatomy, and by "head" probably mean the passage connecting mouth and nose. In this spot the food becomes a frog egg, hatches into a tadpole, and finally transforms into a frog. If a shaman is called on immediately, he can remove the frog by thrusting his finger up the nasal passage and banging down on the patient's head, but if he delays, the ears and nose become clogged, the hair falls, and the flesh on arms and body wastes away until the skin is shrivelled. Then the only hope is to visit *ɯɣekam*.

Friends of the sufferer carry him to the spot and place him in an ice cavern, roofed by the glacier itself, and then retire to

[17] In its earlier stages it can be treated elsewhere.

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778 the rock shelter half a mile away. Here he must lie alone, without food, for four days. If he is in a pure condition from
● 755 the observance of chastity, he then feels the earth shake and
* [787] hears a sound like a mighty landslide, though it is inaudible to those waiting in the cave. If the patient is frightened and tries to flee, he will die, but if he lies still he will be able to spit out the dead frog, or it will become so soft that it can drip from his nose. He then washes in the stream that flows through the ice-cavern, thus completing the cure. The malady
[785] will return unless chastity is practised for one year.

756 Finally, in dreams a man is sometimes carried away to one
* 787 or other of these curing places, or to several of them, and is there made a shaman. It will be noted that this method of acquiring the ability differs from those previously described, but his functions are the same as those whose power has been obtained in one of the usual ways.

Dreams

* 787 The last type of contact with the supernatural is by means of dreams. Psychologically, these are akin to visions; indeed, it is often impossible to learn whether the experiences described in an ancient story occurred during sleep or when awake. The
[774] Bella Coola believe that dreams are caused by the spirit of the individual; they are, therefore, supernatural and worthy of attention, but in spite of this, it was difficult to obtain detailed accounts. The reason seems to lie in the intangibility of the experiences themselves. Unless one is sufficiently striking, it passes into oblivion as a fruitless manifestation of the workings of the spirit. Many of the visions seen in ancient times by those who had fasted or otherwise reached an emotional state, must have been dreams, but they have ceased to be recognized as such in the course of generations. The Bella Coola of today
[159] state emphatically that they receive warning of future events during sleep, but the only individual from whom it was possible to obtain coherent descriptions was the elderly man previously described as X (I, p. 515).

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In his younger days X was somewhat wild, taking his full share in the frivolities of the village, and having a fondness for wine which he brewed himself. On one occasion he prepared a barrel of the mixture, half of which he promptly consumed with the aid of a few friends, then, semi-intoxicated, he fell asleep. He dreamt that there came to him what must have been a male being, although all that was visible was the lower half of his body, which was gleaming white. The apparition seized X by the nape of the neck, lifted him from the floor, and carried him across the house to the barrel of wine, revolving sunwise on himself the while.

"You made this fearful stuff," said his supernatural visitor. "It will make your life dirty, as dirty as this."

Still turning sunwise on himself, with these words he carried X to the doorstep and held him suspended, face downwards over it. Everyone who enters must tread there, so that it is recognized as being the dirtiest part of the house, and X had no doubt about the meaning of the apparition's remark. This experience was so vivid and impressive that X asserted he immediately became a Christian and abandoned his evil ways. At the present time he is one of the few Bella Coola not addicted to home-brew.

A few years later the same being came a second time. X had been ill for a number of months with a sickness caused, so he believed, by a sorcerer. His friends had carried him to bathe in the Hot Springs and the treatment helped his condition considerably, but a little later he suffered a relapse, and was so wretched that he told his mother he would die presently. The same night he was visited by his apparition, but this time he could see the whole body; it was a man with large, powerful frame and a face so white that he could not bear to look at it. The figure was clad in undyed cedar-bark, and X immediately realized that he would recover, though he knew he would not be granted the same power as if the clothing had been of dyed cedar-bark such as is worn by supernatural shamans. The dream-man told X that he had come to him because of the clean condition he had attained by washing in the Hot Springs, followed by continence, and warned him that he must continue this for a year from the time of his immersion or he would die, but that if he obeyed this injunction he would recover. His visitor, who was, of course, a supernatural being, took X under one arm and carried him far to the south, where he washed him in a hot spring at the base of a steep mountain. Then he vanished; X arose and prepared to make his way home, but, lo, he was there already. Rationalizing later, X concluded that his body must have remained in his house, and that it was either his spirit or his life that had been carried away.

As X lay asleep the next night, the same being came to him and

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ling X, the monster carried away the girl. X watched and knew that it must have taken her life; so it transpired, for in the morning she was found dead. The black being did not reappear the following night.

X soon became fat and well, to the surprise of all, and many of the chiefs asked him to give a shaman's dance. He declined, not having received name, instructions, song, or tangible object from the white, supernatural being who had befriended him. He did not even know his benefactor's name.

At intervals during his life-time, X has seen the white supernatural being and, more rarely, the black one in his dreams. The most vivid occasion was when he heard a sound in the attic of his house and climbed up outside to investigate. The ladder broke, precipitating him through an unglazed window into the loft with a broken leg. All night he lay there in agony, and it was not until the next day that his friends were able to lower him in a sling and take him to *Lomqo·ts* en route to the hospital at Bella Bella. Their departure was delayed by a storm and as X lay suffering he told his wife that it would have been better if he had broken his neck instead of his leg. That night, while half-asleep, the world again became open to him and he saw the black creature come bounding along the trail towards him; it entered the house, jumped around him, and finally leapt into his body. He called to his wife to burn dried salmon beneath his bed to expel the evil monster; this had the desired effect though he did not see its actual departure. The next night the white apparition came to him, telling him that he had erred seriously in wishing for death, that one should accept what was in store for one and not oppose *Älquntäm*'s wishes. The being went on to say that it was wicked to prepare too far in advance, and intimated that X's misfortune was the result of having made ready tools for clearing an unnecessary tract of land.[19]

The white being has even appeared during his waking hours. On one occasion he felt it coming when he was in the mission-house, where the missionary was writing a letter for him. Although still invisible, X knew what was approaching and tried to close the door but he was helpless. In came the apparition, at sight of whom X swayed so violently that the missionary asked what was the matter. It went away again in a moment, leaving X shaken and bathed in perspiration.

The experiences just described lie on the border-line between dream and vision. X has frequently seen the apparition

[19] This occurred during the first war, and X remembered having heard that the Germans had laid up stores of munitions. He concluded that this must be evil and that they would fail accordingly. He repeated this statement on many occasions and claims to have foretold the result of the war from his vision.

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mâtsqus lying on the stones at the bottom of the river. Realizing his danger, he swiftly hurled the pole on to the shore beneath a huge cedar where no rain could penetrate. Here it remained for twenty or thirty years until it had become covered with moss.

One day two sisters chanced to pass that way and the younger wished to gather some of the moss, but the elder, who apparently surmised with what the pole had been in contact, was afraid and tried to dissuade her. The heedless girl picked some of the moss, and threw it towards her elder sister, saying:

"Pshaw! It is nothing."

The moss struck her, and the older girl, now thoroughly frightened, was determined that if any ill results were to follow, her younger sister should likewise suffer from them. So she, too, gathered some of the moss and threw it on the first picker. Nothing happened until they had gone home and drawn near to the fire when both began to swell. They told what had befallen them, but it was too late to apply any remedy and both continued to expand until their stomachs burst and they died."

THE *Mâtsqus* THAT WAS CAUGHT IN A NET

Between 1860 and 1870, a young man, related to the Bella Coola from whom this account was obtained, was netting salmon near *Tsmaxl*. He had caught all that he needed but decided to make one more haul. As he did so, he saw in the water a giant toad with enormous shining eyes and white feet. It was a *mâtsqus*. The beast entered the net which sank under its weight. The terrified fisherman plucked up enough courage to haul in his net, and found that the toad had turned to a stone, the surface of which was smeared with grease. He placed it on top of his salmon and went home to summon the people of his own and neighbouring villages to view the wonder. There were ancient traditions about such beasts having been caught in nets, but this was the first time that such a marvel had ever been seen by any of the eager crowd that thronged the bank. A very old man, well-informed in such matters, now appeared and warned the people to keep away from the space between the stone and the river. No sooner had they obeyed than the whole bank caved in, carrying into the water, canoes, the pile of freshly landed salmon, and the mysterious stone. The old man had heard of a similar occurrence, and his knowledge saved the lives of the onlookers.

[753] [755]

"The usual explanation given for the bursting of the stomach is that some of the fire from the monster has entered the victim's body, and there increased on coming close to a blaze. A remedy in the early stages of swelling is said to be the eating of an uncooked mallard duck.

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757 the science of medicine. The Bella Coola are familiar with
789 many acts which cause definite results. To place a new-born
[856] girl in contact with the representation of a beautiful woman
[752] so that she may grow up to be like her, seems false science, magic, to the white man; whereas the application of splints and gum to a fractured limb is a medical treatment, crude perhaps, but definitely scientific. The two are identical to the Bella Coola. They do not ask *why* or *how* a result follows, they merely know that it *does*. Such lore has been handed down from time immemorial; it is steeped in the sanctity of antiquity and hallowed by the knowledge that their ancestors have done the same for generations. All such acts may be described as "medicines," for so they appear to those who practise them. To separate them into magical and scientific categories would misrepresent the native point of view; the only division that can be made is between those that cause, and those that prevent or cure. Even in this there is some overlap. A medicine that cures a child from crying likewise causes him to be placid and amiable; so, too, medicines of a preventive nature comprise elements of both types. The principle governing most of these is sympathetic magic, a concept which, if put in words to the Bella Coola, would be regarded as logical and scientific. The second important class of medi-
[755] cines consists of objects, either herbal or derived from the human body, which are believed to have such abundant power that they are effective against ailments of supernatural origin, or against supernatural beings themselves. Some of these have already been mentioned in connection with the attitude of the Bella Coola towards these beings of the earth, sky, and water.

754 Most curative medicines are used by the practitioner on
755 himself; most causative, on someone else. The latter are either
789 social or anti-social, depending upon whether the result is benevolent or malevolent. Shamans frequently use magical means in curing the sick and are highly regarded by the community, but medicines of the same kind may be used to kill

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and those who have knowledge of them are sorcerers. Even a man of this kind is not outside the pale of society unless he practises indiscriminately; members of the *kusiut* society, for example, frequently employ one to kill an individual who has offended against their regulations (I, p. 740). A man is regarded as a sorcerer not on account of his knowledge but on account of the ends to which he applies it.

Closely related to, if not identical with, the belief that certain consequences follow certain acts, is the conviction that the infraction of ritual prohibitions brings disaster. There are many such taboos, for so they may be called. Though most important at the critical periods of life, puberty, pregnancy, while observing ceremonial chastity, and so forth, there are many which must be obeyed at all times.

Restrictions pertaining to the river and regulations at birth and death have already been described. Like magical acts, these often verge on the religious owing to the belief that disregard of such observances brings [illegible]. In the whole, however, it seems as if most infractions bring their own punishment without intervention of higher powers, a concept which throws taboos into the category of magic rather than of religion, with the ever-present proviso that the two cannot be separated entirely from one another. With them may be associated a number of ritual acts connected with fishing and hunting in which, though the element of propitiation is not absent, it is satisfied by the performance of definite rites. Finally, there have been included in this chapter a number of unimportant beliefs, the psychology of which cannot be analysed.

What is the basis of these rites defined as Medicine, Magic, and Taboo? As already described, the Bella Coola either do not explain their origin and function, or merely state that *Alquntăm* is responsible, as he is for every activity of life. This is unsatisfactory because many which, viewed scientifically, have neither curative nor causative power, produce the desired end. A child who has been "made" a carpenter during infancy, usually grows up to be proficient in that profession; the person

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has gone contrary to something about which there has been universal agreement for generations.

To understand Bella Coola medicines it is, therefore, necessary to regard them as concepts deep rooted in tribal history, and made potent by the suggestibility of those who practise them. This can be most clearly illustrated with regard to those effecting death, but is equally true with regard to all medicines, whether curative or causative.

There remain for consideration the sociological aspects of medicines. Knowledge of most remedies has been handed down for generations as the property of ancestral families. Some are acquainted with one or two "cures," some with many, and some with none at all. The name of the discoverer of a particular medicine is usually lost in antiquity, though it is often attributed to someone described in the family's myth. Like other possessions based on mythology, a remedy of this type [illegible] belongs. If it is observed that a certain individual is using one of these successfully, others will ask him to apply it for them. Payment is always expected, but the sum varies enormously, depending upon the efficacy of the remedy, the difficulty of operation, the generosity of the person benefited, and so many diverse factors that no general conclusions can be made. A patient may observe the details of the treatment, but unless he is entitled to it, he would never dream of using it himself. This is due not only to honesty, but to the conviction that only a person with the inherited right to a certain cure can perform it successfully. Rarely, such knowledge is sold or given away outright, but, like other possessions of an ancestral family, this usually leads to friction and jealousy on the part of those overlooked. Some of the simple herbal remedies are common knowledge and are used by all, since remembrance of their ownership, if it ever existed, has been lost. At the present time it is difficult to learn details of proprietorship of some medicines, but these are indicated wherever possible.

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of fur. Even at the present time, the death of a new-born child is usually attributed to omission of this precaution.

A Kimsquit man mentioned that he had once shot a marten during his wife's pregnancy, and had failed to preserve a piece of the skin. The bullet had passed through the head, making a hole in the cheek-bone beneath the eye. He thought no more of the incident until after the birth of a daughter with a blemish on her cheek in the same place as the wound on the marten's. The spot grew bigger, and the flesh began to mortify until the infant died a few weeks later. Her face resembled that of the animal and he is convinced that his loss was caused, in some way, by the marten.

To Cure Indigestion

Kill a raven, cut out a morsel of flesh from beneath its left wing, and then remove the heart. Place both in the infant's mouth and leave them there until wet with saliva. Replace them in the bird's body and tie a strip of dyed cedar-bark around its neck. Carry the carcass to some lonely spot in the mountains and hide it beneath a jutting rock where no water can penetrate. This cures the child. If, however, anyone should find the raven's body before the flesh has decayed, the patient would die.

This remedy, widely employed for small children, was used with success by an informant for his young daughter. It is not sufficiently potent for adults.

To Cure Crying

The Bella Coola consider that crying is not only unpleasant, but actively displeasing to the supernatural beings who permit it at death alone. Consequently, the persistent wailing of a child is likely to cause the death of a relative in order that the tears shed may have justification. Many stories illustrate this theme; in fact, to cry for no real reason is practically taboo. A mother quiets a fretting child by saying:

"Do you want your father and me to die?"

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757 *For Head-ache*

Tie around the forehead a piece of dyed cedar-bark, undyed cedar-bark, or other similar material. No herbal remedy is known.

For Eye Trouble

Moisten the finger with saliva and rub the eyes with it.

For Baldness (two means)

(1) Boil cottonwood buds in water, causing the gum to exude. Skim this from the surface, mix with fresh olachen grease or oil obtained from sockeye salmon, and rub on the scalp.

(2) Rub on the scalp oil from olachen, dog-fish, or any kind of salmon. The best is grease from the liver (?) of a dog-fish, obtained by hanging the organ before a fire and collecting the drops which exude.

For Skin Irritation

Rub dog-fish liver oil on the rash or itching part.

755 828 *For Excessive Dreaming and Nightmares* (two means)

(1) Burn dried salmon beneath the bed of the person afflicted.

(2) Lie in a canoe which has been chiselled out to the right thickness but has not been widened and hardened by smoke. A mat is laid across for this purpose and the smoke directed beneath, thoroughly fumigating anyone lying within. An informant was so treated as a young man when he was greatly troubled by nightmares in which he used to see a huge head which so terrified him that he would leave his bed to rush around the house shrieking and tearing his hair. This medicine cured his trouble.

757 *For Canker*

Pound up a snail and rub on the sore spot within the mouth.

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For Cold 757

Snuff dried urine such as is found around the rims of unemptied chamber pots. *Kāmai·ts* taught the ancestors of the Bella Coola that this was good for colds. [773]

For Sore Throat

Boil cottonwood buds in dog-fish oil and drink about a teaspoonful of the decoction at intervals until cured. Dog-fish oil, being a necessary ingredient in many medicines, is always kept on hand for emergencies.

For Coughing

Boil roots of false hellebore in water and drink the decoction freely. It is so poisonous that the patient usually falls to the ground, spitting blood. Coughing is one of the many ailments cured by this plant.

Another remedy is used for a person whose cough causes him to spit frequently. A friend collects some of the fresh expectoration, mixes it with salmon roe, and places it where ravens are accustomed to feed. This is done four times and the patient is cured if the birds devour the mixture. 755

For Whooping-Cough

Boil cottonwood buds in water with the fat of any animal and drink frequently. 757

For Sores and Boils

Warm dried urine and rub on the part affected. Like the remedy for colds, it was *Kāmai·ts* who taught this to the ancestors of the Bella Coola. Gum or tobacco is sometimes added to the urine, and applied like a poultice. [773]

For Boils (two means)

(1) Heat human excrement thoroughly and apply to the boil, tying it in position with cloth. At intervals, add more, without removing the bottom layer and leave in position for

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757 throw it in through the smoke-vent. He cuts the roots into thin slices which are boiled in water for four days. The patient drinks several cupfuls of the decoction which never fail to benefit him.

[776] [773] The basis of this medicine is the belief, already described, that when a *sisiutl* swims through a pond it frequently sheds some of its scales which become water-lilies. They are, therefore, potent in themselves and are of greatest benefit to one who has practised ceremonial chastity. The patient must observe several taboos for forty days after treatment: He must hold no sexual intercourse; must eat neither salmon nor meat that has not been smoked; must eat nothing cooked either by a menstruating woman or by one who has lost her husband within a year; and must not approach a girl during the year following puberty. [761] The breaking of one of these taboos causes his death, and the man who has administered the medicine watches the conduct of his patient with great care.

755 *For Debility* (two means)

(1) Drink strong, stale urine, mixed with red rock-paint ground fine.

[424] Knowledge of this medicine has been handed down for generations in certain familes. It is said to be most unpleasant to take.

(2) The following medicine, said to be the most potent known to the Bella Coola, is used for a person who has long been feeble, especially if he has been spitting blood. It is the [424] property of several ancestral families, and must be administered by an elderly male member of one of them.

The owner of the remedy obtains a dry, clean skull, places within it a little water which he brings to a boil with hot pebbles and adds a small quantity of mountain goat marrow. The patient is given a dry stick, about three feet in length, from which the pith has been extracted to make a tube. With this he sucks four times, swallowing a little of the decoction, while the practitioner says to the skull:

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"Please remedy the invalid." 755

This is virtually a prayer, addressed to the deceased owner of the skull, and accordingly verges on appeal to the dead. None the less, there is no concept of active supplication to any individual ghost, but rather of acquiring aid by the use of a supernatural object.

For one year after this treatment, sexual intercourse is forbidden to both practitioner and patient. The latter, though not the former, dies if either fails to observe this taboo. The use of an old man to apply the medicine is to lessen danger from this source. The owner of this remedy is always liberally rewarded and some old men carefully preserve a skull under a rock-ledge in order to be ready if called upon. [785] [761]

For Smallpox

Pick up a toad, and tear off its head with the teeth, swallowing some of the blood. 757

This is an ancient remedy for some other ailment which was tried as a last resort during the smallpox epidemic. One man who succeeded in practising it on four successive days was cured of the dread disease.

For Consumption

Boil leaves and stems of a certain fleshy plant (not identified) in water and drink the decoction. The potency of the medicine increases accordingly to the number of plants used.

This medicine was a Nootka Indian's hereditary cure for a cough which was found to be effective for consumption as well. The malady was so prevalent on the coast in the last century that it seemed as if the inhabitants were doomed; this remedy was allegedly discovered at that time and knowledge of it spread rapidly from tribe to tribe, saving the lives of hundreds. The Bella Coola recognize that this was a private medicine, but have ceased to regard it as such and have no hesitation in applying it whenever required. [177] [164]

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755 177 *For Insanity*

The Bella Coola have no medicine for this disease, although they are familiar with one used by the Kwakiutl, which was applied not long ago to a Rivers Inlet youth by two old women, one from Newitte and the other from *Djoldäuux*. They exhumed a recently buried corpse, took a small piece of skin from the left side of the base of the neck, left this for twenty-four hours in a small stream, and then allowed it to steep for another twenty-four hours in a cup filled with water. This liquid was drunk by the patient who immediately recovered his sanity. He was next given water in which had been boiled needles from the yellow cedar; this strengthened him and prevented a relapse. The patient, now cured, observed continence for a year; failure to obey this injunction would have caused his death. [785 761]

The Bella Coola assume that this remedy is the property of Kwakiutl ancestral families who alone are entitled to use it. The practitioners are always suitably recompensed and do not undertake the treatment except at the request of one of the patient's relatives. Kwakiutl experts have been brought to Bella Coola several times within recent years to cure cases of insanity, but great secrecy is maintained concerning the methods employed. They are considered to be effective, in proof of which the attention of the writer was directed to two sane men who were said to have been raving lunatics before undergoing a Kwakiutl treatment. It is probable that the individuals had been subject to periodic fits of insanity and that a temporary improvement was regarded as a definite cure.

757 *For Venereal Disease* (four means)

(1) Boil scrapings of false hellebore roots in water for a long time and drink the decoction. If it is too strong, add more water.

(2) Pound *sks'tcalx*, a kind of fungus, in water and drink the brew.

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that the proximity of such intensely human articles is enough to counteract and render powerless anything of a superhuman nature. Likewise, when a certain woman came in contact with the War-Party of the Tides and began to exhibit symptoms of insanity, she was cured by drinking water in which other women had squeezed out their menstrual pads. Another defence is the burning of dried salmon, fumigation from which is particularly effective for one who suffers from nightmares. Other remedies already mentioned are to cut the right leg and smear a bullet with the resultant blood in order to kill a *smnq*, and to lacerate the inside of the mouth and spit to withstand a capsizing mountain.

The medicine most commonly taken is false hellebore, the use of which was learnt by some ancient shaman. At dusk a hunter should eat a small twig of it, raw; it draws from his stomach everything injurious, particularly women's hairs, which are abhorred by animals, and ensures him success on the morrow. If he takes too much of it, he becomes ill and must swallow the antidote, mountain goat grease or marrow. He should also carry twigs of the plant with him, ready either to swallow or throw in the direction of any dreaded supernatural being whom he may encounter. Eagle down and dried salmon roe are sometimes similarly used.

The powers of a person who has obtained supernatural ability, whether or not he is a shaman, can be destroyed by similar means. For example, a lad treated so that he understands the speech of ravens, will lose his ability if he eats food cooked or prepared by a menstruating woman, by one who has lost her husband within the last year, or if he passes through the hole in the floor used by an adolescent girl. The last Bella Coola with this skill was deafened to the meaning of the birds' croaking by lying near his sister one night for warmth, since her mere proximity was enough to nullify his power. This aspect of medicine merges with taboos. So, too, the power of an object can be destroyed by washing; an instance of this in

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regard to two figurines prepared to cause love has been described.

In addition to these non-specialized medicines, the Bella Coola are acquainted with remedies for several specific ailments caused by supernatural beings. One of these, to cure a person in whose head a toad was formed, has already been described.

To Prevent Blindness

Loss of sight is caused by a bat flying into a man's face, or by a raven's dropping falling upon him as he looks upward. After either accident, rub a feather from any bird in a raven's liver and draw it across the eyes. The person practising this cure must remain continent for one year or blindness will result.

To Prevent Paralysis of the Leg

If a man puts his foot in a hole so that he stumbles and falls, he will lose the use of that leg unless he counteracts the danger by placing a small stick upright in the cavity. In the summer of 1922 the writer noticed an old Bella Coola, with whom he was walking in the woods, break off a branch about two feet in length and place it in a hole where he had stumbled. He could give no explanation for his act, except that failure would cause him to lose the use of that leg.

To Prevent Paralysis of the Feet

If a person should happen to set his bare feet upon a dead wolf, he will lose the use of his lower limbs. The antidote to this has been forgotten within recent years, and patients are merely treated by shamans.

To Prevent the Revenge of a Ghost

The ghost of a murdered person usually tries to avenge himself on his killer, who can protect himself by obtaining a small piece from the body or clothing of his victim, a tuft of hair, a shred of cloth, or even a piece of earth from above his

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grave. When, presently, he feels sick and believes that the ghost has caused the malady, he throws the object he has obtained on a fire and allows the smoke to drift over his body. It is not known how this destroys the power of the dead victim. 755 775

At present (1922), in case of unexpected death in which murder is suspected, the relatives keep the body under lock and key and watch carefully to see whether anyone tries to gain access to it. To endeavour to do so would be considered proof of guilt. For the same reason, they may place boards over the grave and watch it for several weeks. As already described, a middle-aged woman died unexpectedly in 1922. Her father, believing that she had been murdered, expressed the opinion that a certain man was the criminal and that he would die within a year. He outlived this period by three weeks and it was generally agreed that the power of thought had been sufficient to cause the death. Apparently, the father shared this view and expected the ghost of the alleged murderer to be hostile, for he made two efforts to enter the shed where the body was lying, but the relatives of the deceased foiled him by locking all doors and windows. When he himself died a few weeks later, it was taken for granted that the ghost had exacted vengeance. [695]

To Cure a Malady Caused by a Sorcerer

The most complicated medicine about which information was obtained was one employed by an elderly Bella Coola who had incurred the enmity of a sorcerer. The latter had succeeded in breaking a triangular bone in the man's chest which would have caused his death if his mother had not consulted an old woman who knew the proper remedy for such an ailment. This knowledge had been handed down in her family for generations and she was rewarded lavishly for her services. It will be convenient to refer to the patient as X and the old woman who treated him as Y. 755 [424]

X's mother requested the services of Y who agreed to assist and called upon her husband to help her. They scoured the

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755 forest until they found four spruce saplings growing fairly close to one another and forming a line from east to west. They split each of these, inserted a block to hold the two halves apart, and prevented the upper end of the cut from extending too far by wrapping around it branches of the tree itself, taking care only to bend, not to break these off. Then Y drew through each cleft stem as many of the prickly branches as possible, fastening them in position with their own twigs. Finally, she bound near the base of each sapling a long cord consisting of alternate strands of dyed and undyed cedar-bark. On the day that these preparations were completed, Y boiled in water a number of branches of devil's club, swamp gooseberry, and other prickly plants. Then she told X's mother that all was in readiness for the next day, but that her son must hold intercourse that night. X was unmarried at the time, but his mother obtained the services of a woman for him.

At dawn the next day, before any of his neighbours were awake, X went to the spot where the four saplings had been prepared. With him were his mother and Y, who first washed him with the water in which the thorny branches had been boiled, then gave him his instructions: He was to force his way through the westernmost spruce, turn around on himself, sunwise, four times, pass to the next tree and repeat the same procedure; after this, he was to do the same at the third, and finally at the eastern sapling. With much difficulty, X pushed through the cleft stem, where the tied branches tore his flesh like needles, and rotated himself as he had been directed to do. Without waiting for Y, he acted similarly at the three other trees. As soon as X had passed through the first trunk, Y carefully pulled out the branches from the hole, knocked away the block that held the two sections apart, and loosened the long bough which had been wrapped around the top of the opening. When the sapling had sprung back to normal, she wound the long cedar-bark cord around the trunk, clockwise, so that it would knit together. The old woman followed X to each tree so that there was little indication of anything unusual

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having taken place when she had finished. Then the three went home, Y telling X that he must remain continent until she told him to do otherwise.

Three days later, Y told X's mother that her son would have to sleep that night with another woman whose services were obtained as before. This intercourse was on the fourth night after the first one. Meanwhile, Y and her husband had located and prepared another set of spruce saplings to which X was taken the following dawn. The same ritual was carried out without variation. Four nights later, he slept with another woman and passed through a third line of trees; four nights after that, the same procedure was repeated. Being unmarried, X required the services of four different women although if he had had a wife, she would have sufficed.

During the four days after the fourth set of trees had been used, Y collected, drop by drop, hemlock gum which had exuded from holes made by a small woodpecker.[5] X's mother accompanied the practitioner and heard her say something to the gum but could not understand what it was; X does not know whether the words were in a strange language or merely mumbled. Y also rifled a coffin to obtain the same bone as the one of X's which had been broken. X's mother was again present and heard Y speaking unintelligibly for some time as she cautiously opened the box, taking care to raise the farther side of the lid. The bone was covered with the hemlock gum and Y bound it, like a poultice, on X's chest on the fourth day after he had passed through the fourth set of saplings. It was left in position for four days, then thrown away as useless; it had "become nothing" for the malady and was consequently valueless. With its removal, the pain vanished. Y told X that he would have a long life, since no evil could harm him henceforth, but added that he would never be wealthy. X mentioned that both predictions have come to pass.

If the application of the gum had not been successful, Y would have waited for four days more and then given X a drink

[5] *Tsput*; the species could not be identified.

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[755] of water in which had been boiled eight splinters from a coffin. She would have obtained two from each side, and two from each end, in each case inserting the point of a crooked knife to pry loose a fragment of the wood, and then pulling it off in the same direction as the sun travels. It would have been immaterial from which aspect the first had been taken, but Y would have been careful to move around the coffin from east to south to west to north, corresponding to the course of the sun.

It is believed that no one has now the ability to use this cure.

Sorcerers

754 [424] Among the causative medicines of which knowledge has been handed down in various families for generations are secret means of killing. Every sorcerer must have such a possession, but he is not so branded unless he begins to exercise his powers for anti-social purposes. For example, if it be known that a [575] certain individual is able to cause death, the members of the *kusiut* society are eager to admit him to their group, so that his ability will be at their disposal to punish anyone who breaks their regulations. Likewise, if a chief decides that a certain [622] man should die, the power of his thoughts may suffice to cause the death, but the desired end will be effected more certainly by requesting aid from the owner of a means of killing. Such [756] an individual is frequently a shaman who is only too glad of an opportunity to exhibit his powers. The following methods of execution are said to have been employed socially, that is, with the connivance or at the request of chiefs or the members of the *kusiut* society:

(1) The executioner scratches for four successive nights on the door of the victim's house. If the latter suspects what is to take place, he may endeavour to escape by remaining awake which renders the scratching powerless. It is said that no one has been able to remain sleepless for more than three nights which gives the killer his opportunity.

It is believed that if a non-
*575 initiate pass between the central fire and the raised platform
774 behind it, where the dancer is usually concealed, his spirit will
● 755 be attracted to this material object. Even though the performer is in another house at the time, he at once senses what
[784 has happened and asks who has lost his spirit. The guilty
626] person, believing that he will die unless it is returned to him, always admits what he has done. The dancer, accompanied by several attendant *kukusiut*, proceeds to the raised platform, presses his cupped hands four times against it, and by sucking with his mouth pretends to draw forth the spirit. But since the dancer has a direct call (II, p. 6) from his supernatural patron (II, p. 6), he cannot come in contact with the uninitiated without danger to the latter, so he transfers the supernatural element to the leg of another *kusiut*, who is not dancing at the time, by pressing four times. This assistant then returns it to the owner by kneading it four times into the back of his neck.
[626] The reckless uninitiated person suffers no harm, but is more careful in future.

[784 Another belief is that if a non-member even walks close to
626] the doorway of the house during the four days, or more, that a dance is taking place, his spirit is attracted to the dancer, wherever he may be at the moment. Consequently the uninitiated use the beach path instead of the sidewalk. Accounts
[778] differ as to what results from the transgression. According to one, the dancer falls down as if dead, due to the contact between something non-sacred and the power with which he is imbued. It is at once recognized what has happened and any *kusiut* can draw forth the spirit by placing his two hands, shaped like a cup, against the dancer and sucking violently. While so doing he calls *hoip* loudly and any *kukusiut* present beat time furiously. As soon as the alien spirit has been removed, the dancer recovers. Still holding his hands cupped together, the extractor now proceeds to the house of the non-member and returns the latter's spirit by kneading it into the back of his neck. If this were not done, the loser would soon
[784] become mad, try to eat dirt, and die. According to another

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informant, the entry of a strange spirit into his body does not inconvenience the dancer, although he senses its presence, and asks who will pay for its return. Unless the owner at once steps forward to claim his property and promises to pay, his spirit is thrown into the fire and he dies. The *kukusiut* sometimes tell an uninitiated person that his spirit has been attracted from him, thereby terrifying him so greatly that he appeals to a shaman to recover it for him. The expert greases his hands, warms them at a fire, and pretends to pluck something from the *kusiut* which he inserts into the loser's neck.

In view of the firm conviction that the spirit is essential to an individual's welfare, it is not surprising that this belief should awe the uninitiated and fill them with profound respect for the *kukusiut*. The diversity in the details of procedure proves that the practice has not become standardized; those who are not members of the society believe and do not test the claims.

Another source of strength claimed by the *kukusiut* is ability to witness and imitate the dances of the supernatural beings held in *Nusmät·a* prior to the entry of *Älquntäm*. As already described, it is believed that a supernatural element from every living creature upon earth ascends at this time but, in a way that is not fully understood, only those belonging to *kukusiut* can take part in the ceremonies. Is it strange, therefore, that members of the society are regarded with awe by their less fortunate fellows? Presents are given after every dance in *Nusmät·a* and the supernatural elements receive their due share. When, however, *Älquntäm* enters, he is so big and so hot that almost all who have assembled rush forth furiously, and in the crush at the narrow doorway disaster overtakes many of the visiting human representatives. Some drop their gifts, and their owners will be unfortunate; others fall, and their owners cannot survive until the next ceremonial season. This same fate may befall even those who are not members of the *kusiut* society, but they do not have the ability to appreciate what has happened.

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of the darker hue of the inner part of the wood. His nose and forehead are wrinkled as if in deep thought. Masks of many other supernatural beings and animals have been made, including two which are reserved for *kusiotem* dances alone. The first of these is X's patron, *Kulsłkäkmidjut*, who is capable of having his stomach cut. A face mask is made for him of the usual human type, and in addition a wooden stomach with a slit which can be moved by strings to display entrails painted on a frame beneath. The second distinctive mask is that of *Oḳoḷikts Älquntäm*, the herald of *Älquntäm*. Above his mask is fastened a bird, made of wood, the wings of which can be made to flap by pulling on a cord which runs down under the wearer's blanket. He carries a staff, decorated with alternate spiral bands of dyed and undyed cedar-bark and crowned with another wooden bird likewise provided with flapping wings. By the time the masks have been adjusted it is quite dark.

The uninitiated, listening from their houses, hear first the frantic, but measured, beating of sticks that always accompanies a curing ceremony. Then *Oḳoḷikts* leaves X's house, followed by all the *kukusiut* who have danced the same year and accordingly wear dyed cedar-bark collars, and many others as well. The party goes to the bottom house of the village where *Oḳoḷikts* pounds on the floor with his staff and cries out:

Xwo ....

The *kusiut* chosen to wear this mask is one who has powerful lungs. The heralds, always in attendance, echo his words and explain to the wondering uninitiated who their supernatural visitor is, and that this is the way he summons the supernatural beings to the dances in the land above. *Oḳoḷikts* causes the wings of his birds to flap, the party moves to the next house, and thence in succession to every one in the village before returning to X's. After a short delay the uninitiated hear another crash of the frenzied beating of sticks, and again *Oḳoḷikts* parades to every house in the village. On this, his second round, his announcement is:

"I act as herald; prepare to come."

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natural, any of them can act in this capacity, though it is usually added that the animal in question is the one resident in the land above. One patron of this type is the ordinary river bull-head. It is said that long ago this fish wanted to follow his friends, the salmon, to the ocean, but was persuaded to remain in the river to act as nurse to their children in his house, the river bottom. Early in the world's history he objected to people exposing his dwelling, that is, pulling up the stones from the river-bed where he was wont to lie, and showed his resentment by sending a very cold wind. Ever since that time boys are not allowed to fish for bull-heads in winter. As far as could be learnt, this dance has no special features.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL HERRING-HEAD

One of the supernatural beings living in the land above who is patron for a certain *kusiut* is the head of a female herring. Little is known of this being, even her appearance is subject to doubt. For the *nɛbusam* of her protégé, a number of masks representing herring, as well as human-like beings, are prepared. When the uninitiated are present, one of the disguised figures calls to his fellows to bring their nets and capture the fish.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL DOG SALMON

Another fish dwelling in the land above is *Dakdakānus*, the supernatural dog salmon. He is patron of some *kusiut* but the ritual of the dance, known as *osnāxmuɲaix*, was not obtained. The similarity between *Dakdakānus* and *Dakdakānmem*, those who await *Noākɣnum*, appears merely to be an accidental resemblance in terminology, dependent upon a stem meaning "to come," or "coming." The significance of this in connection with the supernatural dog salmon could not be ascertained.

THE DANCE OF *Ałmoqltaikila*

In Kimsquit it is believed that *Ānoᵓlikwɛlsaix* has a husband, *Ałmoqltaikila*, who is patron for several *kusiut* dancers. His function is to restore to life any uninitiated who chance to

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stumble upon a repository and are stricken down by his wife. Like a shaman, he does this by blowing violently upon the back of the victim's neck and calling out, *hoip*. From constant repetition his mouth has become large and round. When displayed on *nəbusam*, the mask representing *Almoqtaikila* is painted black and has bulging, blown-out cheeks, and a round protruding mouth as if in the act of blowing. Neither the dance nor belief in this figure appear to occur in Bella Coola itself.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL BARK-BEATER

In the land above there lives a supernatural woman who spends all her time in pounding cedar-bark such as is used, either dyed or undyed, for ceremonial objects of different kinds. Her name is *Spikpiknum di Sinxälutla* and she is patron for various *kukusiut*. On the *nəbusam* of her Kimsquit protégés she appears as a masked figure engaged in her usual occupation and makes a circuit of the house while a salmon is displayed. The relationship between this being and the salmon is problematical, and it is uncertain whether or not the same rite is practised in Bella Coola.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL AWAKENER

Every morning in *Nusqulxwaista* the woman *Spaixpaxnumän·a* goes around waking up the supernatural beings. She is patron for several *kusiut* dancers. On the *nəbusam* of her protégé, a masked figure representing the Awakener goes to every house in the village and pounds on the doors, but does not enter, to the relief of the uninitiated who have sought refuge within the bed-rooms.

THE DANCE OF DAWN

Not only must the supernatural beings be aroused in the morning, but every day the Sun himself must be requested to appear; this is done by the beings known as *Xemxemtnum*, who are patrons for several *kukusiut*. On *nəbusam* they appear and *Ano°likwolsaix* explains to the uninitiated who they are and

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C *Wa'ałł-ẖmaiwałłs* | *yas ẖiẖłxmałałłxudał* | *ẖiẖłłẖmaẖłałł:* 593*
I gazed upon | what gave me power as a shaman(*f*) | when it stood up 756

sẖuẖx-amaw-a'ałł-ałł
in the centre of a place of petrified power(*i*).

(*a*) This was the woman's *H̱aaiat* designation; her shaman's name has been forgotten. [551]

(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 56, National Museum of Canada; quartet, Reuben Schooner, leader, Jim Pollard, prompter and announcer, assisted by *Tal'o* Charlie and Steamboat Annie.

(*c*) That is: The sky moved up and down. Grandiloquent phrases of this kind [195] are frequent in songs used by shamans.

(*d*) Refers to the supernatural beings.

(*e*) *H̱łmaotmaił* is said to be the word for salmon in the language of the supernatural beings; it is used by mortals in the rites following the taking of the first [198] [226] spring salmon. The shaman has received some of her power from a fish.

(*f*) Refers to the supernatural beings.

(*g*) Reference to the wash-basin shows that the shaman had power to heal the sick.

(*h*) The meaning is obscure. Apparently the shaman had been carried away by *H̱iẖtsplitsa-a* and treated by immersion in a basin in which eagle down was deposited.

(*i*) This refers to the supernatural being, *H̱xaaiłxstaqua*, the woman's [776] mortals killed by the receipt of too much power from *H̱iẖtsplitsa-a*. It is clear that this fate befell the shaman.

(*j*) The woman is said to have received power from several sources, salmon, ghosts, and *H̱iẖtsplitsa-a* herself. It is impossible to state which of her supernatural patrons is referred to in this subdivision.

(*k*) The woman must have been taken to one of the spots where cures could be [755] effected by the power of a supernatural being petrified there.

[551] [776]

Song Used by Nuxta-mälxsair(a), a Kimsquit Man(b)

A *Ämtqaxwiyuxsał* | *waxiistäldwuxsał* | *aiałuxiaat*
Look at the teeming supernatural beings above(*c*), not one is my equal(*d*), | wise one(*e*)!

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Sxuqälyiłtsiyam'ałk* | *stuutyuxtumulxuał* | *aiałuxiaat*
You must sometimes waken at night to meditate on what I am bringing your mouth(*f*), | wise one!

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *Łxtuxyałuxdłał* | *słäxuałłäxtaxuxdja* | *aiałuxiaat*
You must sometimes use your wash-basin(*g*), | wise one!

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

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Ackbic: Village at Salmon House, on the upper Dean River.
a-dema: Position between two fires.
a-dzil: 1—Raised bed behind the fire used by a person seeking power, or by one who has been in contact with the supernatural.
2—Waterfall.[1]
a-maius: To teach.
a-mai-x-amhil': Hereditary lore handed down secretly in a family.
Anqumkc: One of Raven's Crow sisters.
Anqwama: Assent sung in slow time.
anxilda: 1—Box, *anxkuic*; hence, seat.
2—One of the nights of a potlatch, probably that on which a representation of the deceased appears.
aoua: Rocky Mountain jay.
apkawaal: Carved house post.
Asdzahoxsk: Wife of *Snaky*; both were changed to stone in the beginning of time.
Asnoxsnak: That part of a house between fire and doorway.
Asnoxsnaiuits: Expedition of the supernatural being *Winaiua* against berries and fish.
Asqaoxun: *Snaaxa*'s fish-dam in the beginning of time; the name has since been used by his descendants.
Asqoxsnaiuits: A rainy season observance.
Asq": Seals.
Asxnaiuhun: Steeping in medicinal smoke as a curative measure.
Atlaqutp: Fir.
Atlat-tsiaiut: Evil male supernatural being.
a-tma: 1—Death, not anthropomorphized.
2—Dead.
atmat": Kingfisher.
atq: Fish-hook.
Atsham, "They of the Huge Jaws": Supernatural beings resident in the land above.
atsmas: *Kaiaxt* spy.
atsqaut: *plural, atsatsqaut; vocative plural, atsatsqaui*:
1—Person who has not given a potlatch, a commoner.
2—Ancestral name of a Kimsquit woman.
Atsk: enemy village.
Atsq: Stone man mentioned in an ancient story.
atse hemdjat, "He Urinates Over Himself." The implication is that this is an indication of misfortune, hence the word really means omen. It is the Kimsquit variant of *a-amdjat*.
a-amdjat: Omen of death.
Atsu-i, "Occupied Mound": 1—Village at Kwatna.
2—Artificial mound at *Talio*.
3—Village on the Kimsquit River.
4—Island near Ocean Falls.
Atsu-i nas Wamaiuis, "Place of Dogs": Locality near Ocean Falls where the dogs came to earth in the beginning of time.
atsuu-i: Varied thrush.

[1]The latter is a favourite place for obtaining power, the probable reason for the identity of the two terms.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

1924

släl': Devil's-club.
släläxmaxdis: To lament ceremonially, the term used to describe the crouch for a memorial potlatch. [824] [965]
Slaxal, "Ashes": Ancestral name created for a *Xwalkt* chief about 1910.
slaxtsk: Supernatural creature dwelling in water.
släy: Anus. [824]
släxum: Splinters projecting upwards from the hole of a broken tree-trunk.
Slemalgwaxa: One of the first women to settle at *Xwalkt* in the beginning of time.
Slenyo: Chief of the spring salmon.
slenxenkun: Narrow strips of goat skin with wool attached, distributed at marriage. [515] [825]
släsläs: Margeware. [584] [481]
slelwaxdjat, "The Opening": Ceremony when the first public presents are given to the family of a future wife, following the announcement of betrothal.
slí: To cure, especially with the aid of a frenzied beating of sticks.
Slimaxtsk: *Snuxa* man mentioned in an ancient story.
slimp, "Cure Ye!": Call of invitation to a *Saxtat* dance in the upper Bella Coola valley.
slíwaxs: Cloud.
slqwa: Thick hide, either of moose or caribou. [825] [412]
slsaxa: Semi-circular knife used by women for cutting salmon.
slsaxsix, slsaxsut, or *slsäxsjut*: 1—Frenzied beating of sticks for curing purposes, especially when the patient is a member of a secret society. [755]
2—Final *Saxtat* rite at end of the ceremonial season.
slsaxsix: To cure by means of the frenzied pounding of sticks.
Slsaxt, "The Charred Portion of a Half-Consumed Log": *o'wlt* name obviated in the beginning of time.
Slsaxtaxt: House used by a group of first settlers near *Snuxa* in the beginning of time.
Slsaxsaltwaxa: Daughter of the first settlers at *Nusqulx* in the beginning of time.
slsi'xsalx: Fungus. [824]
slsläxsalgsta: 1—Box made of strands of cedar-bark. [415]
2—Ancient name of a small hand-drum.
slsqa: Ceremonial designs executed on the exterior front wall of a house.
slsxkä': Rose.
Slsläxwaxa: *Xaxlat* name of a Kimsquit man.
slsxt: Wasp. [825] [727]
Slsläxxmaxtis: Rock on shore of North Bentinck Arm where war trophies were washed.
Slqwaxkwä: Name of house brought down by first settlers at *Skätsut* in the beginning of time; the term was also applied by them to one of their female relatives. [601]
slsxí, saxsüxw, slsxsí: Parent-in-law or child-in-law.
slsläqa: Suitable place in the river for setting obedient nets.
slsläx: Game played with throwing stones.
slsxsíxtx: Synonym for *yaxawaxa*, the tangible or intangible prerogatives possessed by some *Saxtatsut* in addition to a dance rite. [824] [825]
slsxwaxläxw: River sculpin.

3: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1925
NEA Duplicate NEA

The beneficial purposes include: making a child grow up to be a good dancer, industrious, a swift berry picker, or a strong man; curing lung trouble; making the river scale where wanted; and two ways of stopping rain. The injurious purposes include: two ways of making a person grow up to be a thief; the causing of crookedness and quarrelsomeness and the three ways of causing death.

The materials and actions used include: ashes of aspen leaves; a dead toad, used with hair, with a red cedar bark face wiper, and with hair pieces of thimble berry shoots which were accidentally dropped while being eaten; ashes of a yellow jacket's nest; a living raven with phlegm; beaver paws, in two instances; a skin bracelet from a beaver's foreleg; a dead weasel rat; a dead mouse; a grizzly bear's skin; a living rat agitated with a bit of aspen twigs; setting fire to a wood-rat's house; and poking an ant hill.

To make a person a good dancer the ashes of the burned leaves of the aspen or trembling poplar were said to be useful, but Joshua said this may have been a joke. The Bellacoola Indians say the leaves dance. They never say that they tremble. When a baby was born, if the parents talked about it and the father desired that the baby grow up to be a good dancer, the mother or father got the leaves, burned them and put the ashes on the baby's hands, knees and elbows. When telling of this Joshua held his hands with the finger tips up and moved them as the Bellacoola do in dancing. Both rich and poor were danced.

A baby girl would grow up to be industrious, it was believed, if the worn limbs of a recently dead beaver were applied to her. The Bellacoola apparently observed the great industry of the beaver.

To make a baby girl grow up to be a fast berry-picking woman, the ring of skin from between two ribs around a beaver's foreleg was put on her wrist and was left on until it wore off.

To make a boy grow up to be a strong man, a skin of the grizzly bear, was thrown over him, generally by his father.

For phlegm on the lungs, more permanent than a simple cold, the patient experienced in sucking said some one secretly mixed the fresh phlegm with salmon eggs and put the mixture

Jr Smith E-9 (1920-1923) 1925
NEA Bellacoola NEA

755 ● 835 (854)

out for the ravens to eat. This was done four times, and if a raven ate it, the patient recovered, according to Captain Schooner's belief. As the call of the raven sounds somewhat like a person affected with phlegm in the throat, this may be a case of sympathetic magic, at any rate it is one of witchcraft.

785 815

To make the river erode at a certain place in order to break a log jam, a beaver's foot was buried in each of several spots in the place.

754 856 815

A continuous rain would cease, and the sun would come out, it was said, if the people set fire to a wood-rat's house.

When it rained too much the Bellacoola Indians poked down an ant hill and said, "Give us warm sunshine." They believed this would bring results, but now that Joshua is a Christian he says he does not believe it and says it is useless play talk.

Bad boys or girls, but not adults, would take a dead mouse, warm it over a fire, and rub the warmed mouse on the hands of a baby. This made the baby steal when it grew up. The so-called stealing habits of the mouse were supposed to be transferred to the child.

The still warm body of a freshly killed wood-rat was used in the same way to make a baby, boy or girl, "crazy," and grow up to be a constant thief. The notorious habits of the wood-rat, as well as those of the mouse, were evidently well recognized by the Bellacoola.

754 756 845

To make people crazy, the red squirrel had to be properly used by a shaman and then it possessed strong power. One woman who had been made crazy in this way died in 1897. She did not like the shaman and he did not like her. He stole her spoon. She was sorry. He took it into the forest and performed witchcraft because he wanted to spoil her life by making her crazy. He caught a red squirrel alive, possibly in a little basket. He had a box called a "bad box," in which he kept his things of evil power. He put some of the fringe of her spoon around the red squirrel and let it run far away. The woman then became crazy and sometimes fell down, but part of the time she seemed well. My Indian informant, Joshua, had seen her. This example of sympathetic

S: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1929 NE5 Bellacoola NE5
Cottier NE7
Thompson NE7C

ARISTOLOCHIACEAE, BIRTHWORT FAMILY

Asarum canadense Linn., Wild Ginger

Bella Coola: Boiled, and the decoction taken internally for pain in the stomach, but not for diarrhoea or vomiting.

Boiled, and applied externally for headache, intestinal pains, and pain in the knees.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

POLYGONACEAE, BUCKWHEAT FAMILY

Rumex occidentalis Wats., Western Dock

Bella Coola: Roots roasted for a short time in a hole in the earth among the ashes of a fire, covered with earth, smoked, and applied in quantity as a poultice for boils. Both leaves and roots used, according to another informant, and the poultice applied to wounds as well as boils.

Leaves used for a sweat bath for pains similar to rheumatism all over the body. Stones were heated, a little cold sand spread over them, and leaves spread on the sand; or else the leaves were spread on hot ashes. The patient sat or lay naked directly on the leaves, and was covered with blankets. Western Balsam (*Populus trichocarpa* T. and G.) with the leaves on them, or the small kelp found on rocks were sometimes used when leaves of the western dock could not be obtained.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

LORANTHACEAE, MISTLETOE FAMILY

Arceuthobium americanum Nutt., Dwarf Mistletoe

Bella Coola: Boiled, and decoction taken as a potent medicine for hemorrhage of the lungs.

Southern Carrier: Boiled, and decoction taken freely for hemorrhage from the mouth, tuberculosis of the lungs, and consumption.

NYMPHAEACEAE, WATER-LILY FAMILY

Nymphaea polysepala (Engelm.) Greene, Yellow Pond-Lily

Bella Coola, old method: Used in a magical way for pain in all parts of the body. A root as many spans as long as a man's leg was cut free from the bed of a pool with a knotless pole sharpened like a shovel. A hollow was made in it, water placed in the receptacle, and hot stones added. The stones were changed four times, after which the patient drank one or two cupfuls of the water. He repeated the dose each day for four days. To be effective the root had to be thrown back into the water, not on the ground.

Present custom: Root boiled twelve hours, and decoction taken internally for pain in any part of the body, such as "consumption", rheumatism, heart disease, and gonorrhoea. Considered good for the blood. Not used as a diuretic, or for diarrhoea, constipation, or vomiting.

Okanese: Infusion of sawdust of unstated root (or according to another informant, bark of root, boiled) taken internally for hemorrhage of the lungs and as a consumptive.

6:Boas E-5 [1886-ca. 1890]1892
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

By laying their hands on the nape of a person they are able to tell whether his soul is present or whether it has left the body. If the soul should become weak they are able to restore it to its former vigour. If a person swoons it is believed that his soul has flown away without breaking its shell. The shaman hears its buzzing wings, which give a sound like those of a mosquito. He may catch and replace it in the nape of its owner. If the soul leaves the body without breaking its shell the owner becomes crazy.

The art of shamanism is bestowed by Esq. It is impossible to obtain it by means of fasting and praying, as in the case among the neighbouring tribes, but it is a free gift from the deity. A person who is to become a shaman will fall sick, and, during his illness, Esq will give him a song which must be kept a deep secret. After this he is able to cure diseases. If a person falsely pretends to have received the gift of shamanism, and tries to suck out diseases from a patient, he will fall sick himself.

When asked more closely about the curious difference between this method of obtaining the power and that of the neighbouring tribes my informant said: 'When an Awikyi'ang wishes to become a shaman he may go to the mountain where the deity of their shamans resides (probably Mi'tem) who will initiate him. So Bilqula can obtain the art in such a way.'

Sickness is caused by a disease entering the body or by witchcraft (see p. 417). The shaman is able to extract the disease by sucking. A peculiar method of witchcraft, somewhat similar to the 'ek'a-' of the Kwakiutl (see Sixth Report of the Committee, p. 618), was described to me as follows: The person who wants to bewitch his enemy endeavours to obtain some of his old clothing, portions soaked by perspiration being considered especially effective. After it is obtained a wolf is killed, and the clothing is put into its mouth, which is then tied up. Then the wolf is placed in a box. This procedure is called *sank*. Sometimes the clothing or some hair is inclosed in the bone of a wolf or of a dead person. No shaman can counteract these charms.

If a person has been murdered, and a string is tied firmly around the neck of the corpse, the murderer's neck will become diseased and he will be unable to breathe and will die. If sand is strewn in the corpse's eye and the lids closed over it the murderer will die. If a person has been killed with a knife or arrow, or another weapon, to which some of his blood adheres, the latter is brought into contact with a wolf's head, dog's hair, or anything else that is hot, and then thrown into the fire or put into a frog's or snake's mouth; then the murderer will die.

I add here a few current beliefs:—

Humming indicates that people are talking about one.

Slight ringing of the ears indicates rain, loud ringing good weather.

Twitching of the muscles of the left side of the body is unlucky; of the right side lucky. Twitching of the skin under the eyes indicates that one will cry.

If a dog dreams and howls in its sleep its owner will die.

The breaking of a box without an apparent cause is unlucky.

War.

When a war party was organized the warriors did not paint their faces, but they put on headbands of white cedar-bark and adorned their

7:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1900 NE6 Bellacoola NE6

the House of Myths, but who has given up his place in favor of Sēnx and Alk'unta'm. These two might be called the rulers of mankind. In most traditions they are described as trying to destroy man, notwithstanding the fact that they are considered the creators of mankind. This peculiar characteristic of these deities is clearly brought out in the traditions recorded on pp. 78 ff. In one legend which I collected in 1890, Alk'unta'm's mother, Nānaxōmik·tcequxe'm, is described as a Cannibal, who inserts her long snout in the ears of man, and sucks out his brain. Eventually she was transformed into the mosquito.[1] I did not hear her mentioned as one of the deities residing in the House of Myths. According to the same tradition, the salmon were obtained by a man who gambled with Alk'unta'm, the stake being the salmon. Alk'unta'm lost, and the man took the salmon down from heaven. Another legend of the origin of the salmon is recorded on p. 38, where it is told how the birds obtained the salmon. According to still another tradition (p. 94), the Raven obtained the salmon by marrying a salmon girl. In the tradition quoted above, Alk'unta'm also gives to man the power to cure disease by means of the water of life, which the shaman sprinkles on the sick person.

A number of inferior deities live in the House of Myths. They might be called the assistants of the principal deities. In order to understand their functions, it is necessary to state that the deities residing in the House of Myths have particular charge of the religious winter ceremonial of the Bella Coola which is called kā'siut, and which corresponds to the ts'ētsā'eqa of the Kwakiutl. I have described this ceremonial, and its importance in the social life of the Kwakiutl, in another paper.[2] The kā'siut is of equal importance to an understanding of the social life and mythology of the Bella Coola. It is sufficient to say at this place that the ceremonials performed during the kā'siut are mostly dramatic representations of myths referring to the various deities, particularly to those of the House of Myths: therefore masks representing these deities are used in the ceremonials. Plates VII to XII[3] show a series of these masks. Figs. 1, 2, and 4 (Plate VII) are Sēnx, Alk'unta'm, and Snēlk'ulx·a'ls. The functions of many of the inferior deities seem to refer solely to the kā'siut. These deities and their functions are as follows: Sīx·ek·tsil'x· (Plate VII, Fig. 6) ordains the death of man and animals. According to one statement that I received, there are four deities of this name in the House of Myths. It is his particular duty to kill those who transgress the laws of the kā'siut. This deity is mentioned by Jacobsen, who calls him Sek-oelk Kallai.[4] Nuuxt'noq'ala (Plate VII, Fig. 3), or the Snoxt'lq of the House of Myths, sits by himself in one

[1] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1891, p. 650.
[2] Report of the U. S. National Museum, 1895, pp. 311–738.
[3] Drawings by Mr. Rudolph Weber.
[4] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1891, p. 568.

7:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1900 NE6 Bellacoola NE6

539 756 776 He walked on, and after a while he noticed a man sitting at a distance. Then he hid the switch under his arm. When he came near, he saw that the man wore a large green nose-ring. He hit it with his switch, and threw it to the right-hand side. Then the man said, "You have attained me as your supernatural helper. Your name shall be S'a'tcma [from 'a'tcma,' 'dead']. Many people have seen me, but nobody has done what you did. If you had not struck my nose-ornament, you would have died on seeing me. You shall have the power to heal the sick by the touch of your hands. Whenever a person dies and is put into a box, after the box has been placed in the burial-ground, go there. You will find me sitting on the coffin. If then you knock the nose-ring from out of my nose, I shall leave, and the dead will revive. He will break the box, and will arise."

Then the young man felt very glad. He returned to the village, and by following the instructions of the spirit he resuscitated the dead. He was given many blankets, and the men whom he had resuscitated gave him their daughters in marriage.

756 776 Other shamans are initiated by L'ETSI'APLĒLANA. The same man who gave me the record of his supposed visit to the country of the ghosts (see p. 38) told me that at another time he saw L'ETSI'APLĒLANA flying in the air outside of his house. She wore a ring of red cedar-bark around her neck. She was turning round all the time. Songs were coming from all parts of her body. Although she did not open her mouth, it sounded as though a great many people were singing. She gave him a song, or, as the narrator expressed it, "she threw a song into his body." At that time he was sick, suffering from a wound in his leg inflicted by an axe. He said four days after meeting the spirit he was able to walk, and since that time she has assisted him in curing diseases.

The st'aut, is another helper of the shaman, and the means of curing disease (see p. 28). It appears that it obtains its supernatural power from the fact that it lives in the water in which the supreme deity washes her face. When a person sees a st'aut, he should throw sand on it, by which means he will be able to catch it. Its skin is so hard that it cannot be pierced with a spear or knife. The person who catches it should not try to cut it with his knife, but should stretch his hand backward, and then he will find the leaf of a bully, which is the only thing that can cut its skin. He should not touch the st'aut, with his hands, but hold it with hemlock twigs. He should wrap it in white cedar-bark and tie it up in his blanket. If it is not thus tied up, it will disappear. It must not be taken into the house, but should be placed in a small box and hidden under stones, or buried in a hole under the root of a tree. It is a most potent means of curing disease. Sick people will buy small pieces of the st'aut, for which

[755]

7:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1900 NE6 Bellacoola NE6

they pay high prices. The piece is thrown into water, in which it is kept for four days. Then the water is used for washing the body. If a healthy person uses this water, he will live to an old age. Sick persons chew the white cedar-bark in which it is wrapped up, in order to regain health. They must not swallow the cedar-bark, but only the saliva that gathers in their mouths. A person who has chewed the cedar-bark becomes invulnerable. The eye of the st'siut, is described as about a foot in diameter, and as transparent as rock crystal.

Toa'lat.'it is the spirit who protects the mountain-goat hunter. He himself is invisible; but great hunters sometimes see his hat, his moccasins, or his mountain staff moving about. The following tradition describes some of his characteristics:—

The Raven and the Lynx lived in one house, each occupying one side. Early in the morning the Raven went out to catch salmon with the harpoon. He was very successful, and carried the fish home. Toa'lat.'it watched the Raven, who, when he arrived at the house, roasted his salmon. The children of the Lynx were sitting near by, and looking at the Raven while he was roasting the fish. They wished to participate in the meal, but he did not give them anything. Then the children were very sad. Now the Lynx made up his mind to make arrows and to go hunting mountain-goat. He went out and cut some wood for his arrows; then he told his wife to make a quiver, which he called Ts'ô'lapala. She did so, and wove a quiver of cedar-bark. The Lynx was quite impatient for the sun to rise, so eager was he to start hunting. Early in the morning he arose and ascended the mountain. When he reached the limit of the trees, he sat down on a flat rock and looked for goats. Then he saw the staff of a man who was coming down the mountain. He did not see the person himself. He thought, "Who is that? Who may be hunting here?" The stick approached him; and when it came near, he saw Toa'lat.'it, who wore a large hat. His hat was named Q!pō. (that means a "barren mountain-top"). Toa'lat.'it reached the Lynx, and sat down opposite him. Neither spoke a word. After a while Toa'lat.'it arose, took the arrows of the Lynx, and said, "How beautiful these arrows are!" He took up one after another until he had looked at all the four arrows of the Lynx. Then he asked, "Who made these arrows?" The Lynx did not reply. Toa'lat.'it asked again, "Who made these arrows?" Then Lynx replied, "Toa'lat.'it made my arrows." Then Toa'lat.'it was very much pleased, and said, "Is he the one who made your arrows?"—"Certainly!" replied Lynx. Then Toa'lat.'it took his arrows and threw one after another down the mountain, and said to the Lynx, "Now go down the mountain and look at your arrows. If you spoke the truth, every